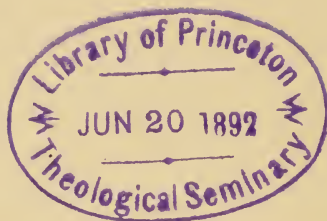
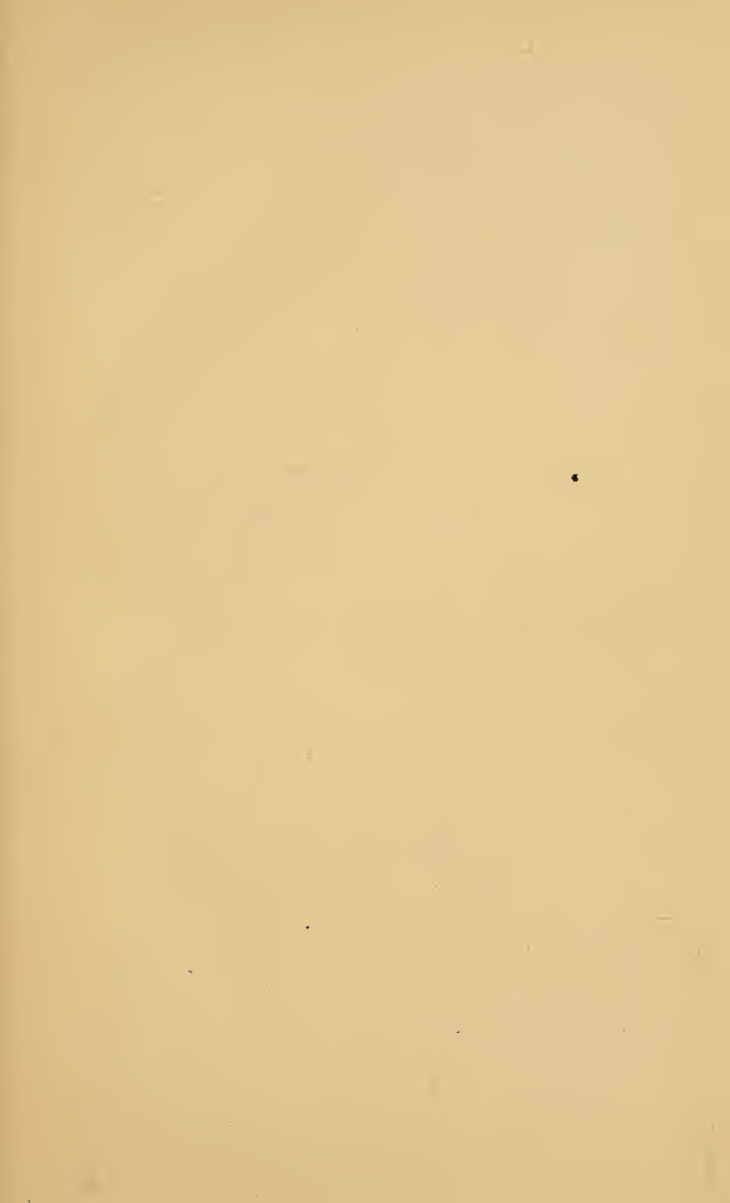


The
Story of the Token.





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The story of the token as
belonging to the sacrament



The Story of the Token,

AS BELONGING TO THE

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

BY
ROBERT SHIELLS.

Tell ye your children of it, and let your children tell their children, and their children another generation.—JOEL 1: 3.

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DEDICATION.

To all the friends, and they are many, on both sides of the sea, who have given me help and encouragement, my work is respectfully dedicated as a "Token" of appreciation and loving remembrance.

No one is named, but each one may read his own name between the lines, as each one is duly remembered by

His Grateful Friend,

ROBERT SHIELLS.

PREFACE.

I have no apology to make for the following pages. The story they tell will show how they came to be written.

I hope the reader will find the narrative not so unimportant as it may appear at first sight. I have used my most diligent endeavor to collect all the information I could, concerning what has become to me, an interesting study. I have striven to tell what I know about a practice that is fast becoming extinct, and to preserve its memory from the *delenda est* of the waters of Lethe.

The Token was once a visible symbol of that which, like a master-key, opened the gates of salvation to the faithful communicants of the Church. Time-honored as the custom was, it will soon be forgotten. I would fain hope that I have been able to add one stone, small as it may be, to its cairn of remembrance.

It is with no affectation of humility I acknowledge that neither my reading nor my scholarship fits me to be an authority on this question. I shall be amply repaid for my labor if what I have written shall incite some qualified person to complete the story of the Token

Besides being encouraged in my work by the love which I bear to the Church in which I was reared, I confess that I have also endeavored to realize that wish of which Burns speaks, and in which all his countrymen share :—

“That I, for poor auld Scotland’s sake,
Some usefu’ plan or book could make.”

And now, without further preface, “Behold how that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all them that seek wisdom and knowledge.” Ecclesiasticus, xxiv : 39, and xxxiii : 16.

“And here will I make an end. If I have done well, and as the story required, it is the thing that I desired : but if I have spoken slenderly and barely, I have done that I could.” II. Maccabees, xv : 39.

As these sheets pass through the press, I cannot refrain from expressing my gratitude to The Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, of New York City. He has held up my hands all through the work, and has ungrudgingly bestowed upon me the benefits of his experience. He has made many valuable suggestions, and attended closely to the proof-reading. I thank him heartily.

ROBERT SHIELLS.

NEENAH, WISCONSIN,

October 18, 1891.

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For in her rubbish and her stones,
Thy servants pleasure take ;
Yea, they the very dust thereof
Do favour for her sake.

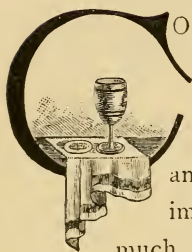
Psalm cii: 14.

(Rous's Version.)

THE STORY OF THE TOKEN.

I.

INTRODUCTION.



CONSERVATIVE in all its ways as we esteem our Presbyterian Church, with its Books of Order and Discipline, it has almost imperceptibly changed very much in many of its practices and details. Its bare and rigid style of worship has gradually yielded to the modern desire for beauty and show. In music, and flowers, and æsthetic decoration, it has become second to none. It has begun to observe "days, and months, and times." Holidays which our founders would have refused even to "take up their names into their lips," have become "set times" in our yearly worship. The Church has held fast to "the form of sound words," but some forms that were

once considered essential to the well-ordering of its services, have become disused, and even obsolete.

The celebration of the communion has been specially shorn of what were formerly thought to be its appropriate and necessary solemnities.

It is true that the simple, yet impressive ceremonial used to be prolonged to an extent that the modern church member would quickly rebel against. But the old-time worshipper did not study brevity, and rather insisted on "good measure, pressed down and running over."

The time can still be remembered when it was really "the great day of the feast." In country parishes, observed only once a year—requiring a staff of ministers to carry out its varied and lengthy forms of worship—hedged about with days of fasting, and preparation, and thanksgiving, it was indeed, as the phrase went, "a great occasion," to which the people looked

forward with desire and looked back with delight.

Nowadays all is changed and our fathers would mournfully exclaim, "the glory is departed from Israel."

If there are what may be termed sacred mysteries pertaining to our Presbyterian ritual, they are certainly those connected with the observance of an old-time Communion. The celebration began with the long penitential prayer and the other protracted exercises of the day of humiliation and fasting : a day kept, if possible, with more than Sabbatical strictness.

Then came the usual lengthy preparation services of the Saturday, followed by the plain, but strikingly impressive worship of the Sabbath itself.

The church had then assumed an appearance of simple, yet awe-inspiring decoration. The front seats converted into tables, covered with spotless linen, looked as if they were made ready for

saintly guests. The service opened with the usual preliminaries, which ushered in the "action sermon," bristling with duties, sparkling with promises, and fully setting forth the privileges to be enjoyed. This was the introduction to that stirring address known as the "fencing of the tables." All those who knew that they were presumptuously living in sin, open or secret, were solemnly warned not to approach the sacred feast, as they would "eat and drink judgment to themselves." On the other hand, all who felt the sweet pains of repentance, who were earnestly striving after newness of life and sincerity of obedience, were lovingly invited to sit down at the table of the Lord and partake of its spiritual bounties.

Quietly and reverently the communicants filed into the appointed seats. The sacramental emblems were uncovered, with all the modest pomp of the Communion vessels. The tables were "served" (as it was termed)

by each officiating minister in turn. At the conclusion of his address, the venerable elders dispensed the consecrated elements, and the clergyman added a few words of comfort and cheer, usually dismissing the worshippers with "go from His table, singing His praise, and the God of all peace go with you." As the tables were emptied at the one end they were slowly filled at the other, and so the solemnities went on till all had enjoyed the privilege of obeying the Lord's command, "This do in remembrance of Me."

On one occasion (not many years ago), in the south of Scotland, the number present was so great that fifteen successive tables were addressed by the ministers in attendance before all the members had communicated.

The exercises were plentifully interspersed with the singing of "those strains that once did sweet in Zion glide." Rous's Psalms, generally with the "read

line," filled up every possible breathing space. I remember the One Hundred and Third Psalm as an especial favorite at such times.

This work was kept up without intermission for seven or eight hours. *

There was sermon again in the evening, and on Monday there was a thanksgiving service of praise and preaching, which brought the great gathering to a close.

All this has now disappeared, and the mutilated ceremony of to-day barely occupies the time set apart for the ordinary church service.

* The diary of Rev. John Mill, of Shetland, has many references to the immense labor performed by ministers on such occasions. He notes, August 27, 1775, "The Sacrament was celebrated at Sandwick. I was told I would kill myself with so much work, having preached six times and served seven tables. I replied that, in this event, I would die in a good cause." And again, August, 1780, at the same place, he speaks of himself as "preaching all the day and serving seven tables." Mill's *Diary*, Edinburgh, 1889, pp. 44 and 60.

My present intention is, not to moralize over these alterations, but to call attention to one minor ceremony which has fallen, not only into disuse, but almost into utter forgetfulness.

This is, the distribution of the Tokens at the close of the Thursday's services, and the "lifting" of them on the Sabbath, when the communicants were seated at the sacramental table.

There are thousands of Presbyterians in the United States who never even heard of the Communion Token and would be utterly at a loss to know how, or where, such a thing could be used. To all such I wish to offer a brief description.

When the worshippers were being dismissed on the Fast-day, the minister and elders stood in front of the pulpit. As the members filed past, those who were in good standing and worthy to communicate, were handed each a small piece of metal known as a Token.

The importance and solemnity with which this distribution was regarded may be inferred from what is recorded of Rev. George Gillespie, minister of Strathmiglo, Scotland. "He never gave a Token of admission to the Lord's Supper without a trembling hand and a throbbing heart." *

The individual appearance of applicants used to be strictly insisted on. The Session Records of Edinburgh, 1574, appoint that "the whole communicants come in proper person upon Friday next, at two hours afternoon, and receive their tickets in the places of examination." † This rule of personal presence was long enforced throughout the entire church. I remember hearing it condemned as a very loose practice, when some ministers relaxed so far as to give Tokens, when neighbors

* Scott's *Fasti*. Vol. IV., p. 510.

† Edgar's *Old Church Life in Scotland*. Vol. I., p. 134.

asked them for absent friends who were unable to be present.

In the days when Church discipline was real and meant something, persons resting under temporary disqualification were summarily refused Tokens, and were thus debarred from the coming solemnities.* Those who feared rejection, refrained from presenting themselves.

On the Sabbath, when the elders passed along the tables, they received from each communicant the token which vouched for his being of the "household of faith" and gave him a right to sit with the people of God. This, in short, was the manner of

* In many Churches, an annual list was made up of those who were to be refused Tokens, and the names were frequently continued from year to year. Still this discreditable roll did not by any means consist of those who were liable to expulsion, or even to the minor excommunication. In Mauchline, 1775, John Richmond joined the Secession Church and his name was forthwith added to the black list, without his being cited or troubled in any way. Edgar's *Old Church Life*. Vol. I, p. 281.

using those diminutive tablets. Greatly honored, and even revered they were by the devout men and women who had them in keeping only for a day or two, and who looked upon them as their passport of entrance into the very Holy of Holies of their religion. To them, the Token was like the wedding garment of the parable and was deemed equally indispensable.

Little of this now remains. The Token has apparently outlived its usefulness. In this country some churches of the United Presbyterian, and the Reformed Presbyterian bodies, still "ask for the old paths and walk therein," though the Token is gradually falling out of repute with them also. Even in Scotland it is now being superseded by a system of cards and checks which serve to show how regularly each member "waits upon the ordinances."

The Token itself was usually a small plate of lead, marked with some device

referring to the congregation which owned it, or to the ordinance with which it was connected, the date of church organization or of pastorate,* and, "Let a man examine himself," or some such appropriate text. On some specimens a large numeral standing by itself, indicated the number of the table at which the communicant ought to present himself. Any or all of these were stamped on the little piece of metal and marked it as being "set apart from a common to a holy use."

A somewhat modern innovation in all the Token countries is the use of Tokens without "a local habitation or a name." They have neither place nor date to identify them with a home. Garnished with some goodly texts to mark their sacred office, they can be used any where and are known as *Stock Tokens*.

*I believe that no dated Scotch Tokens are found before the early part of the seventeenth century.

Churches in the large towns sometimes mixed secular with sacred emblems on the consecrated medals, and displayed their city arms. I have such examples from Glasgow and Perth, as well as from the metropolitan city of Edinburgh. These last bear the familiar and not inappropriate motto, *Nisi Dominus Frustra*.*



In 1559, I find the Edinburgh Dean of Guild contracting with one of the city goldsmiths for “tikkets” and “stamping of thame.” The same functionary has, till within a few years, furnished the Edinburgh Established Church Tokens. Like the consuls of ancient

**Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.* Psalm cxxvii : 1.

Except the Lord the city keep,
The watchmen watch in vain.

Rous's Version.

Rome, the Dean perpetuated his executive connection with the city by marking his initials and date of office on each issue of



the Tokens.* I have six of these magisterial vouchers, the dates running from 1754 to 1837. I also have armorial Tokens from Haddington and



from the ancient burgh of Canongate. The motto of the latter is strikingly suggestive in this connection,

Sic itur ad astra. ("Thus do we reach the stars," or "immortality.")†

Country parishes could not command the services of an artist who "devised cunning

* The illustration shows the obverse and reverse of one of those civic Tokens; R. J. D. G. stands for Robert Johnston, Dean of Guild.

† The goat on the shield-shaped Token, is the cognizance of the ancient burgh of Haddington. The stag's head, with the crosslet between its horns, is the crest of the Canongate arms. It refers to a well known incident in Scottish history, A. D. 1128.

works, to work in gold and in silver." Their Tokens were generally rude and primitive in design, and showed what might be the handiwork of the village blacksmith. Wealthy congregations had them of more artistic patterns. Some were aristocratic enough to use Tokens of nickel and even of silver.

I have one from the First Reformed Presbyterian Church of New York City, which is made of ivory. The only case I know of where this material has been used. This Token was employed in the Church services up to a very recent date.

Tokens were usually cast in a mould or struck as with an old-fashioned coin stamp. Not a few antique specimens have the inscriptions simply indented with letter punches. Inventories of church property very often include the Token mould.

In May, 1590, I find that Patrick Guthrie, a goldsmith in St. Andrews and deacon of

the guild of hammermen, "has made the irons for striking of the Tokens to the communion, and has received from the session for his pains xls." In July, 1590, it is noted that "the session has paid to Patrick Guthrie, for two thousand Tokens to the communion, ten merks."* Soon after this, there is mention that upwards of three thousand communicants partook of the Lord's Supper in St. Andrews, so that a large number of Tokens must have been necessary.

To keep up the needful supply of Tokens was considered a duty incumbent on the minister. At his installation, he would probably be reminded to walk in the way of his predecessor in this, as in other particulars. I have read of a case where the mould was formally handed to the new pastor, as if it had been a necessary badge of his ministerial office.

**Register of St. Andrews Kirk Session*, pp. 672, 677.

It was a common custom to get a new pattern for the Token when a new minister was ordained, and there were instances of clergymen vain enough to insist on this as a means of transmitting their names to posterity.

Some Laodicean sessions sold their old Tokens as waste metal, though generally they were melted down for the new issue. Some ultra scrupulous officials buried their discarded symbols, lest they should be profaned by being used for any meaner purpose.

It will scarcely be believed that, even at the present day, some ministers have buried their disused Tokens, for fear they should fall into the possession of an intelligent collector, who would thus be sacrilegiously guilty of laying hold of the ark of the covenant with unhallowed hands.

II.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TOKEN.

A Token has been exactly defined as “a sign, mark, or remembrancer of something beyond itself. A pledge that something then specified shall be done or given.”

When God brought Noah out of the ark, He said, “This is the token of the covenant which I make between Me and you,—I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token between Me and the earth.”

We find tokens of various kinds often repeated in His dealings with His chosen servants and His people.

It may be noted here, that from the first time the word is used in the Authorized Version of the Bible, “This is the token of the covenant,” (Gen. ix: 12) to its last mention by St. Paul, (2 Thess. iii: 17) “mine

own hand,—the token in every epistle,” the word is invariably “a token for good,” with one terrible exception, (Mark xiv: 44) “he that betrayed Him had given them a token.”

In the Apocryphal Book of Tobit there is an excellent illustration of the use of Tokens in daily life. My black-letter copy of 1584 refers to the practice more plainly than the common version. Tobit lends his friend Gabael ten talents of silver “under an handwriting.” In his poverty many years afterwards, he remembers the loan and commissions his son Tobias to recover the money from Gabael, “and give him his handwriting again.” Tobias objects, that he is a stranger to the debtor and asks (Tobit v: 2) “what token shall I give him?” Tobit makes answer that the *chirographum*, which is still in his possession, will be sufficient evidence that Tobias is the proper person to receive the silver. All which proved to be correct. Gabael acknowledged

and redeemed his token by prompt and full payment of the debt.

In all ages, and among all nations, there was a constant endeavor to invent a suitable emblem which would mark its possessor as the votary of some special religion, and reveal him, either openly or secretly, to his fellow-believers. Among such symbols may be specified amulets, talismans, scarabæi, phylacteries, Gnostic gems and scapularies.

The Abraxas stones of the first and second centuries are a strong case in point.

The Greek system of numeral letters had been in use since the days of Homer. About the time of the Christian era, many fanciful applications of this value of letters were much in vogue. Even St. John (Rev. XIII: 18) makes use of the then familiar method. "Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man."

Basilides, a Gnostic heretic (*circa* A. D. 110) and founder of a sect, adopted the mystic word *Abraxas*, or *Abrasax*, as comprising the letters which represented 365, the number of the emanations of perfections on which his system rested. Gems or Tokens, engraved with this name, were accounted all-powerful for a great variety of purposes, when the possessors had attained to a full understanding of the things signified. At the same time, they were first given to neophytes as a convenient symbol by which they could be recognized at once, and admitted to the secret gatherings where their enlightenment was to be completed.

Singularly enough, in connection with the subject in hand, it is stated that "these gems were composed of various materials, —glass, paste, minerals, and sometimes of metal." *

* George Fort, *Medical Economy during the Middle Ages*. London, 1883. pp. 93-98.

Tokens had thus become a custom fully recognized by the nations at large, especially by those guilds and brotherhoods so common among the peoples of antiquity.

The Roman *Tesserae*, or Tokens, were freely used for identifying those who had been initiated into the Eleusinian and other sacred mysteries. They were given to the victors at the public games, as vouchers that they were for life, the wards of the state. They were given to poor citizens as an order on the authorities for a certain amount of grain.

A *tessera nummaria* performed the functions of a modern bill of exchange, or as in the case of Tobit, of a note of hand. The *tesserae conviviales* must have been nearly the same as our invitation cards to a party, and were handed to the slave who kept the door at the banqueting house.

The exigencies of modern society in large cities are compelling a return to the ancient practice. Guests who are bidden

to a fashionable reception are now required to show their cards as a guarantee that they have really been invited.

When the Roman ambassadors went to Carthage on a mission involving war or peace, they offered the Carthaginians two *tesserae*, one marked with a spear, the other with a caduceus, and requested them to take their choice. *

Tesserae were largely used as New Year's gifts and often bore inscriptions almost identical with those on our own festival cards. "May the New Year prove fortunate and happy unto thee," (*Annum Novum faustum et felicem tibi*) is an example in point.†

* *Hasta et caduceus, signa duo belli aut pacis.* The *caduceus* was originally an olive branch, the universal emblem of peace. The *hasta* was the recognized symbol of legal possession. Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq.*, Art. *Tessera*. p. 799.

† Martigny, *Dict. Antiq. Chrét.* Art. *Etrennes*, p. 241.

Martigny describes a *tessera* of rock-crystal, the legend on which proves that it was a New Year's gift to the Emperor Commodus, *circa* A. D. 190.*

More sacred than all were the *tesserae hospitales* which were used between families bound together by the closest ties of interest and love. Such a *tessera* gave the holder a claim on the protection of all those who knew its secret meaning. It descended as an heirloom from one generation to another. The homeless and wayworn wanderer was admitted into the bosom of the allied household and had all his wants supplied if he could show, (even though it was years before) that their respective forefathers had exchanged the *tesserae* of concord and friendship.

The early Christian Church would readily adopt the custom as a safeguard against traitors and informers. The defection of "the man of Kerioth" taught the perse-

* Martigny, *Dict. Antiq. Chrét.*, p. 632.

cuted brethren the necessity for a Token and a password to be entrusted only to those of tried and approved standing.

We do know that *tesserae baptismales* were given to the converts who, by baptism, were added to the Church.

In the Apocalypse we find the promise "to him that overcometh" in the church at Pergamos, (Rev. II : 17) "I will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it." Does not this plainly refer to the *tessera* that admitted the stranger brother to the *agapae* and communion feasts of the primitive believers? Is it not an allusion to a form known and used by all to whom the Apostle was writing?

It is worthy of notice that the rewards which are to be given "to him that overcometh" in the other six churches, are all well known blessings, easily understood and applied to spiritual honors and benefits

which are more or less familiar to every one. The distinction promised to members of the church at Pergamos is the only one to the nature of which we now attach any doubt or uncertainty. When the light of the *tessera*, or Token, is turned upon the promise, all obscurity vanishes. The true meaning is clearly evident and "the secret of the Lord stands revealed."

The Token must thus have come down to us from the earliest times of Christianity. When it was difficult to tell who could be trusted, it would be readily accepted as a convenient method for excluding impostors who sought to destroy the new faith, or renegades who had disgraced their profession.

I am not church historian enough to trace the continuous use of Tokens down through the ages. The sources of information at my command are too limited to furnish me with full details on the subject. At the same time I cannot help find-

ing my opinion strongly confirmed by several of the practices connected with admission into the early Christian Church.

The fathers evidently came near the pattern set by the Pythagorean and Platonic schools of philosophy. They probably did not carry the system of exoteric and esoteric teachings as far as the philosophers, but they followed their example very closely.

The Lord's injunction (Matt. vii: 6) "give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine," was literally obeyed in their intercourse with the heathen. They further defended their conduct in this respect by the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians, (1 Cor. iii: 1) "I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal," and dwelt strongly on the differences set forth in Heb. v: 12-14, of "milk for the babes," and "strong meat for them that are of full age."*

*"We speak wisdom among them that are perfect," or initiated. *τέλειοι*, 1 Cor. ii: 6.

A system known as the *Arcani Disciplina*, or secret teaching, became the recognized practice of the Church. This prevailed from the middle of the second century and regulated the intercourse of the *Fideles*, or fully initiated believers, with all who were outside of the pale. The simplest doctrines were not even stated to the heathen neighbor, who disputed merely for the sake of argument. The enquirer who seemed actuated by a better spirit had the rudiments of the new faith carefully and sparingly revealed to him. Even when recognized as a *Catechumen*,* or convert under training, his course of probation was prolonged and sometimes tedious.

Catechumens were broadly divided into two classes, the *Audientes*, or hearers, and

*This term is used (*Acts* XVIII: 25) in connection with Apollos who "was instructed in the way of the Lord." *Κατηχούμενος*,—catechumenized,—initiated.

the *Competentes*, or those who were sufficiently taught. The hearers were permitted to attend the opening services of the Church, such as the psalms and the sermon, but were sent away before the prayers. The sacraments, the creeds, and the sublime doctrines of the Trinity, and the atonement were reckoned among the hidden mysteries (*occulta*) only to be made known to those who were fully initiated and accounted as *Fideles*, the faithful ones. The properly instructed novices were accepted as candidates for baptism and advanced accordingly. Even their progress was so gradual that they were taught the Lord's Prayer only a week before they were baptized.

At the celebration of the Holy Communion the greatest care and vigilance were used so as to exclude all unbelievers or improper persons. The church doors were shut and guarded by the appointed officers. The neophytes were sent away,

(*missa catechumenorum*) and even the faithful were not admitted if they came late to the solemnity. "Let the doors be watched, lest any unbelieving or uninitiated person enter," was the emphatic commandment.*

When the ceremony was about to commence, when the priest stood ready to uncover the elements which had been set on the communion table and covered with the sacred veil, the deacon shouted, "the doors ! the doors !" The attendants sprang forward to close the church gates and keep out all who had not attained to full membership.†

The trouble that might ensue "because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty," (Gal. II: 4) was sedulously guarded against. Unknown members from distant congregations

*Smith and Cheetham's *Dicty. Christ. Antiq.*, Art. Holy Communion, p. 413.

†*Dicty. Christ. Antiq.*, Art. Canon of the Liturgy, p. 273.

had to present Letters of Communion or of Commendation (*Litterae communicatoriae aut commendatoriae*) from the churches to which they belonged.

The first of these letters seem to have been akin to the Tokens and admitted the bearers to participate in the Holy Communion. The second were more general and commended the strangers not only to the privileges of the Church, but also to the confidence and hospitality of the membership. They were such letters as St. Paul speaks of (2 Cor. III: 1) "need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you?" By virtue of his office as an apostle, he neither brought them nor required them. They were such letters as were given to Apollos when he went from Ephesus to Achaia and "the brethren wrote exhorting the disciples to receive him." (Acts XVIII: 27.) Both formulas differed from the Dimissory Letters which

were granted to those who made a permanent change of residence and church connection.

Still another document called a *Koinonikon* (κοινωνιόν) was given to the really poor Christian who depended on the charity of his brethren to help him on his journey and also looked to them for church fellowship. His claims for spiritual and temporal recognition were not to be allowed unless he was duly accredited. The church rule was plain and emphatic, "if he shall choose to go without one," (*littera peregrinorum*) "let him be removed from communion."* On the other hand, wherever the Christian traveller journeyed, if he went provided with the appointed letters, he found that the "communion of peace," (*communicatio pacis*) and the "bond of hospitality among strangers" (*conteseratio hospitalitatis*) were fully recognized.

* *Dicty. Christ. Antiq.*, p. 907.

In course of time, many of these different letters were written without any name being inserted. This was afterwards condemned as a lax and pernicious practice, since it permitted them to be handed from one person to another.* For an additional security, the seal of the church or bishop was affixed to the letter, and it seems probable that the *sigillum*, or seal alone, came to be accepted as a sufficient voucher. At length, any certificate of membership was designated as a *Formata*, a word which signifies not only a formal rescript or mandate, but also the stamp or official impression on a coin or piece of metal.

The whole system of supervision was so strict and so efficient that an eminent author† does not hesitate to assert that “no

* *Dicty. Christ. Antiq.*, p. 408. The practice was formally condemned by the Council of Arles, A. D. 314.

† The late Dean Plumptre in the *Dicty. Christ. Antiq.*, Art. Commendatory Letters, p. 407.

single practice of the early Christian Church tended so much as this, to impress on it the stamp of unity and organization."

III.

MODERN REFERENCES TO THE TOKEN.

This is as far as I have been able to identify the established checks and safeguards of the primitive Church with the issue and use of the communion Tokens. Some better scholar may be able to take up the clue I have indicated and follow it to a certainty.

At the same time, the following authorities seem to strengthen my position that the Tokens, or *tesserae*, of the Greeks and Romans had easily paved the way for the introduction of communion certificates (*formatae*) into the Christian Church.

A learned Episcopal writer* says, "in the time of persecution, Christians recognized each other by secret signs or symbols,

* Venerable Samuel Cheetham, M.A., King's College, London. *Dicty. Christ. Antiq.* Art. Tesseræ, p. 1952.

whether spoken as watchwords, or pictorial. Small tablets engraved with such symbols were called *Tesserae*. It seems also probable that Christians, like their pagan forefathers, gave *Tesserae* to each other as pledges of friendship."

A distinguished prelate in the Roman Catholic Church* writes as follows,—“The early Christians had the Tokens you refer to, as signs of their faith and as a means of being recognized by each other, even in the second century. These emblems were of ivory, of metal, and of stone. I think that metallic tablets were used as signs of having received communion. The custom of giving such Tokens is well known. It is kept up at the present day in Rome, by means of printed cards. I have seen the little fishes (*tesserae baptismales*) with a hole pierced through them for the purpose

* Rt. Rev. F. S. Chatard, Bishop of Vincennes, and formerly Rector of the American College at Rome, Italy.

of carrying them about the person. These little fishes (*pisciculi*) and other objects were undoubtedly in use among the Christians as signs of their faith." This gentleman has had exceptional advantages for the study and observation of the subject, and his remarks are entitled to great weight.

I learn from another high authority in the Roman Catholic Church* that, "for some time after the Council of Trent, communion certificates were used in several countries, but not in all." He could not decide whether they were ever made of metal or not.

Another learned clergyman† of the same faith writes that "communion certificates are, even now, given in Bavaria and some other countries." He also states that "in Rome, the Chapter of St. Peter's at one

* The Rev. Dr. Philip Grace, of Newport, R. I.

† Rev. P. M. Abbelen, Father Superior of Notre Dame, Milwaukee, Wis.

time issued 30,000 certificates in one year."

A priest who had charge of a large parish in Dundee, Scotland, for eight years, writes that he "made use of the 'tickets' for communion purposes. They were given to intending communicants on Saturday, and then they delivered them up before going to the altar on Sunday." He says they were Tokens in the true sense of the word. Although he has never seen any thing but cards used, he thinks that, in years past, there have been other Tokens in use. He "feels certain that Tokens do not belong to the time of John Knox, but are an old Catholic tradition."

On the other hand, a learned Cathedral Superior, in Scotland,* is equally certain that "the Token is a purely Protestant institution. The imposing of any outward barrier to communicate is out of harmony

* Rt. Rev. Mgr. Alexander Munro, D.D., Provost of Glasgow Cathedral.

with the feeling and tradition of the Church." At the same time he concedes that, for local considerations, and to check abuses, Tokens have been utilized from time to time. In his own diocese, a few years ago, they were used and used wisely, for more than twenty years, but were discarded as soon as practicable. He also says that in the early ages of the Church, there must have been some ready way of admitting the faithful to communion and excluding enemies from the Christian assemblies. For this purpose, something corresponding to a Token may have been used.

I have in my collection this card Token so long used in the Cathedral Church of Glasgow. It is marked with the Greek word *Συνάξις* (a convocation or gathering). The term is usually applied to devotional meetings. A familiar expression is, *Ad sacram synaxim accedere*. ("To go to Holy Communion.")

IV.

ENGLISH TOKEN USAGES.

At the beginning of the 15th century the currency of England was in the worst possible condition. Not only had the coinage been debased on account of political necessity, but there was a perfect dearth of small change. Billon, or black money of mere nominal value was brought over from the English mints in France. Abbey Tokens and jetons of every kind passed for fractional parts of a penny, no matter whether they had been struck for sacred or secular purposes. The *tesserae sacrae* which served as passports for the inferior clergy travelling from one monastery to another, the "medals of presence" and other church and communion pieces passed indiscriminately with the leaden medalets of the tavern-keeper and the tradesman. As many as 3,000 varieties of this latter class are

known, and they continued in circulation till the close of the 17th century.

About A. D. 1500, Erasmus speaks of the *plumbos Angliae*, and they are often casually referred to as being used by communicants and for sacramental purposes.*

In the time of Queen Mary of England, 1554-55, Cardinal Pole appointed every parish priest to keep account of all those who, on a stated day, had not attended to their communion duty. And again, in 1557, he calls for the names of those who had not been reconciled to the Church.

The Token-Books of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, are still in existence and form a complete directory of all the streets, lanes, and alleys in the parish. Every parishioner's name is carefully entered at his residence and the list must

* John Yonge Akerman, *Tradesmen's Tokens*. London, 1849. p. 6.

Stanley Lane Poole, *Coins and Medals*. London, 1885. p. 128.

have been compiled from a domiciliary visitation.* It would appear as if all were virtually compelled to attend communion, and conformity was insisted on.

Recusants are duly marked and sometimes commented on. One is noted as an Anabaptist and "had no Token last year." Another is accounted for as "a Brownist," and a third calls out the pointed remark, "Mr. Swetson knows who paid no Token." Edward Matthew is gibbeted as "a very badd (*sic*) husband and cometh not to the communion."

These books were written up annually, and extend from 1559 to 1630, covering nearly all of Queen Elizabeth's time, the entire reign of James I., and the first five years of Charles I. In 1596 the lists show 2,200 Tokens sold at two-pence each,

* The names of many leading actors of the Shakesperean era are found in these books. Among others, sixteen of those whose names are printed in the first edition of his plays.

and in 1620 nearly 2,000 at threepence each.*

In 1658, the parish accounts of Newbury, Berkshire, are charged with 300 Tokens at three shillings and sixpence. A later Token of this parish is still to be met with. Rev. Joseph Sayer was the incumbent from 1666 to 1674. His Tokens are marked with a Bible, and the inscription, "Joseph Sayer, Rector of Newbury."

In 1659 the parish records of Henley-on-Thames, Oxfordshire, make mention of Tokens being in use and designate them as "communion halfpence."

The church register of St. Peter's of Mancroft, Norwich, also records the use of Tokens and gives minute details of their cost and manufacture, as well as of the

*Token-House-Yard is a *cul-de-sac* off Throgmorton street, near the Bank of England. It may be that its name is more intimately connected with the Tradesmen's Tokens of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries than with the Communion Tokens spoken of in the text.

communion dues collected by means of them.*

* In the parish account book of St. Peter's of Mancroft, Norwich, are the following entries :

A. D.		L.	S.	D.
1632.	Paid for moulds to cast tokens in	0	4	0
1633.	Paid to Norman for leaden tokens	0	0	6
1640.	Paid to Thomas Turner for 300 tokens.....	0	3	0
1644.	Paid to Howard, the plomer, for tokens.....	0	0	0
1659.	Paid to Goodman Tenton for cut- ting a mould for the tokens....	0	2	6
1680.	Paid to the Widow Harwood for lead tokens.....	0	5	0
1683.	Paid Mrs. Harrold for new tokens	0	1	0
1684.	“ “ “	0	1	0
1686.	Paid for tokens bought, and herbs for the church.....	0	2	6

The following is an account of the receivings, by tokens, of the communicants at various times :

A. D.		L.	S.	D.
1682.	Paid for bread and wine, more than received by tokens.....	0	19	1
1683.	Paid for bread and wine, more than received by tokens.....	0	15	1
1685.	Received by tokens....	3	0	11½
1686.	Received by tokens at eleven communions in the said year..	3	18	6
1687.	Received by tokens at ten com- munions in the said year....	3	2	3

The last similar entry in the book is in 1696.

Akerman, *Tradesmen's Tokens*, London, 1849.
pp. 4, 5.

In the diocese of Durham the clergy farmed out their Easter and other dues. From this custom grew considerable scandal, and a consequent trial for the irreverent disturbing of public worship on Palm Sunday, Good Friday and Easter. It is given in evidence that one John Richardson “tooke Easter reckeninges of such people as received the holie communion, and there accompted with them, and delivered and received Tokens of them, as is used in other parishes.” Another witness tells how Richardson’s deputies usually wrote down “the names of all the then communicants, not householders, and att the tyme of writinge there names, dow deliver them Tokens, which in the tyme of the administration of the sacrament, they call for againe, to the end that they may knowe whoe doe pay the Easter offerings and whoe doe not.”

Still another witness states that he had seen “Richardson at Easter tyme goe upp

and downe amongst the communicants, and in time of receiving the holie communion receive of some communicants some monies, and take in certain leade Tokens (as the use of the parish is) from such as had formerlie by there maisters reckoned and payed." And that he had "seene all whoe were under-farmors to Richardson since that tyme doe the like."*

The Presbyterian Church never exacted such dues and "never sold her sacraments."

The following extract from a work on Commercial Tokens also refers to the antiquity of Church Tokens.

"(No.) 1319. THE COMOMON (Communion) CVPP—Sacramental cup and cover.—Rev. I. H. S. A cross, Calvary, rising from the horizontal bar of the H; and seven stars below."

* *Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham*. Surtees Society, pp. 82-100.

For most of the above English facts I am indebted to *Notes and Queries*, 1878-79.

“Possibly this piece has reference to what is occasionally noticed in church-wardens’ accounts as token money. James the First, by patent dated May 18, 1609, granted to Francis Philips and Richard More, the rectory and church of St. Sepulchre in the city of London, with all its rights, members and appurtenances; ‘also all tithes and profits of the servants and apprentices, and strangers (*extraneorum*), and other parishioners, commonly called the *token money*, paid or payable at Easter time.’ The custom, it is said, prevailed long before the period of the Reformation, when each parishioner was ‘houselled,’ that is, received the sacrament and was shrived; though the practice has long since been commuted by the payment of a certain sum.”*

* Jacob Henry Burn. “*Descriptive Catalogue of the London Traders’, Tavern and Coffee-House Tokens current in the Seventeenth Century.*” 2nd edition, London, 1855. page 265.

V.

SUBSTITUTES FOR TOKENS.

The English Episcopal service contains the following rubric which evidently takes the place of the Token, as a check on unworthy communicating. "So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion, shall signify their names to the Curate at least some time the day before." The Curate is further enjoined to watch for any that may be evil livers, or that cherish malice and hatred against their neighbors, &c., &c. He is to exclude all such, "not suffering them to be partakers of the Lord's Table, until he knows them to be reconciled."

At the risk of introducing extraneous matter, I quote from the rubric providing for the administration of the sacrament which directs that the minister shall first partake of the bread and wine, "then he

shall deliver the same to the bishops, priests and deacons in like manner, (if any be present) and after that to the people also in order." In some English country parishes, the last two words have been subjected to a curious interpretation. The squire, or leading man in the parish, communicated first. Then the subordinate gentry, then the people at large according to their station in life. The scale of precedence was as well defined as the *entrée* to a diplomatic dinner.

In this connection I recall an incident which the narrator tells he saw about thirty years ago. He was visiting in Yorkshire where the squire of the parish had lately died. There was communion service the first Sunday after the funeral. When the time came for communicating, the congregation kept their seats till the dead man's personal servant opened the door of the empty pew, and went through the form of letting some one pass out. After this

ghostly pantomime had been enacted, the sacramental services proceeded as usual.*

An Episcopal dignitary in Brechin, Scotland, states that "it was formerly the custom, on the Sunday before Holy Communion, to receive the names of those intending to communicate and note them down as they passed out of church. This was continued for a good while."†

I have at present in my possession, drawings of a considerable number of Tokens belonging to Episcopal churches, mostly in the north of Scotland. One specimen is marked "+ S. Andrew's (Episcopal) Chapel, Glasgow, 1750." Nearly all of them pertain to the 17th and 18th centuries.

I have in my collection, a modern card on which is printed, "All Saints' Church, Edinburgh," and "Easter Communion." This seems conclusive evidence that the

* *Notes and Queries*, Jan'y, 1890.

† Very Rev. James Crabb, Dean of the diocese.

Episcopal Church has not altogether abandoned the use of communion checks and Tokens. .

I have an old volume (London, 1691) entitled "Letters from Italy." The writer travelled much in company with priests and, according to the custom of the time and the country, generally lodged at monasteries and religious houses. Again and again he incidentally refers to experiences with spurious priests and pilgrims. These vagabond devotees journeyed with counterfeit letters of credence and false seals and certificates. "Letters of obedience" were palmed off for "letters of devotion." Forged letters of pilgrimage with the broad seal of the archbishop could be bought at reasonable rates. The whole narrative shows the serious impositions which the early Church must have had to contend with and which her officers strove to avert by their rigid system of checks and safeguards.

I cannot help taking all these different items as strong proofs of the continuous antiquity and universality of the Token.

VI.

MIGRATION OF TOKENS.

I also find that even the modern Token has done duty as a voucher for membership or a certificate of dismissal. It was at one time a common practice in Scotland for members who were leaving one parish for another, to carry with them the Token of their home church as an introduction to their new brethren. In this way, Tokens are often found in Scotland, far from the church which originally issued them. I have picked up Scotch Tokens, both in the United States and in Canada, which had been brought across the sea in place of regular church letters.



I possess one notable specimen of the transmigration of Tokens. It is marked "A. C. D.,* 1788." It

*"A. C. D.," *i. e.* Associate Congregation, Dalry.

originally comes from Dalry, Scotland. In 1822, the Rev. Dr. Gemmill, from Dalry, Ayrshire, organized a church in Lanark, Ontario. He seems to have brought his full equipment with him, and the Dalry Token still performs communion duty in the far-off Canadian village.

I am indebted to Dr. Gemmill's imported Token-bag, for another rare and interesting specimen, almost or altogether



unknown in Scotland. It is marked "T. S. A." Rev. Samuel Arnot was ordained at Tongland, Kirkcudbrightshire, in 1661. Casting in

his lot with the Covenanters, he was expelled by the Government, in 1662. Warrants were issued for his apprehension and a price set on his head. He died, while under hiding, in 1688, just before the Revolution brought deliverance to him, and all such persecuted wanderers. At this late day, his Token is unveiled

in Canada, a silent witness to his faithfulness.

I have another migratory Token from Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Rev. Thomas Trotter came there from Johns Haven, Scotland, bringing with him his old Tokens marked "Asso. Con. Johns Haven." "Rev'd Thos. Trotter, 1808." These Tokens were used at Antigonish as long as the custom prevailed in that Church.

The above mention of Dr. Gemmill suggests one of those controversies which have been waged concerning every rite and ceremony pertaining to the observance of the communion. This special contention is known as the "lifting of the elements." Is the "taking" of the bread and the cup to be regarded as a "sacramental action?" If it is so, the "lifters" held that, when the minister says "our Lord took bread," he should take bread also and hold it in his hand while he gives thanks, according to the example of our Lord. The other

party opposed this as being ritualistic and, virtually, a revival of the elevation of the host. The dispute at one time was very bitter. The synod finally permitted ministers and congregations to settle it as they pleased.

Because "lifting" was not enjoined, Dr. Gemmill and a few other clergymen left the Church and tried to form a separate Presbytery. The effort was not successful. Their adherents dwindled away and Dr. Gemmill emigrated to Canada. The scattered members were long known as "the Breadlifters."

It is remarkable that the English Church does not "lift," while the Episcopal Church of Scotland adheres to the practice.

Dr. Gemmill was in many respects, a remarkable man. Having struggled through his college classes, *more Scottico*, he took charge of the little Secession Church at Dalry. The stipend promised, but seldom paid, was literally "forty pounds a year."

To supplement the deficiency, he took up the study of medicine. For three sessions, he was accustomed to walk to Glasgow (25 miles) every Monday morning, attend his classes for the week, walk back on Saturday and preach twice on the Sabbath. At the close of his three years' course, he received his degree of M. D. with honors.

He also picked up a knowledge of printing, and later established a small printing office at Beith, five miles from Dalry. Then came another course of Monday and Saturday walking, and Sabbath preaching. Besides commercial and legal work, his press issued much strong theology which was industriously circulated in the district. All would not do however, and after continuing the struggle for thirty-four years and a half, he gave up his charge, and died in Canada, 23 years after. Verily, "there were giants in the earth, in those days."

There is another matter of contention which may be noticed here. Should the communion be partaken of with the bare, or the gloved hand? This controversy dates back to the second century. It was finally decided that the men should receive the sacrament with clean uncovered hands, while the women were required to bring a fair linen cloth in which the bread was deposited by the priest. These rules passed away when the custom was introduced of putting the wafer into the mouth of the communicant.

I believe the matter is still somewhat unsettled among the Episcopalians. I know of no rubric or written law pertaining to it, though I find both practices supported by different individuals. It may be that the rule varies in the English and the American churches. The use of the bare hand seems to preponderate.

As I have before remarked, there is no custom connected with the communion

that has not been a fruitful source of controversy. The necessity for washing the feet of the communicants; the upper room; the evening celebration; the leavened or unleavened bread; the fermented or unfermented wine; these, and many other minor observances have all been argued and debated, again and again, to little purpose and less edification.

Many usages which cannot be styled any thing but superstitions, have also attached themselves to the ordinance in different ages of the Church. The consecrated elements have not always been treated with sacramental reverence.* The bread was sometimes abstracted for various improper or irreverent purposes. We find the magnates of the Church mingling the eucharistic wine with ink, so as to give special strength and validity to important documents.

* *Dicty. of Christ. Antiq.* pp. 416, 417.

Theophanes, who wrote a history of the Church, from A. D. 277 to 811, tells how the Patriarch of Constantinople having renounced the heresy he had adopted, and again relapsed, was excommunicated by Pope Theodorus I., A. D., 645. The ink which signed his sentence was mixed with *du sang de Jésus Christ*. ("The blood of Jesus Christ.") The General Council of Constantinople, A. D. 869-870, condemned the doctrines of Photius, and the Patriarch Ignatius signed the decree, "dipping his stylus in the blood of the Saviour." (*Dans le sang du Sauveur.*) Claude Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* Liv. 51.

At one time there was a custom of placing the unconsecrated elements on the credence table, when the king was about to communicate. It was then the duty of a trusted official publicly to taste the bread and wine for fear they had been mixed with poison, and

the monarch's life might thus be endangered.*

Permit me here to offer my excuses for having, in these pages, strayed away so often from the Tokens proper, and taken up with other sacramental incidents.

My research has led me into this class of reading and I have noted many collateral circumstances bearing on communion usages. Some of them may be as unfamiliar to my readers as they were to me. I trust they will not be considered entirely out of place in connection with my main topic.

A friend of mine owns a silver medal which is interesting for its sacramental devices. If it was meant to be used as a Token, it was probably not for members of the Church, but was given to a priest when on his travels, as an introduction to his brethren in orders. It is one of the

* *Notes and Queries*, July, 1856.

many allegorical and moral pieces struck by Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg. Its date is 1613, the year of Duke Henry's death. The chalice it is stamped with is almost identical with that on a Scotch Presbyterian Token of 1760.

The Latin legend is decidedly anti-Protestant, *Mirari Non Rimari, Sapientia Vera Est*. The communicant is thus admonished that "to admire and not enquire, is the true wisdom." The cardinal doctrine of transubstantiation is prominently brought before the devout participant, and he is taught to receive the great dogma of his Church in the most submissive spirit.*

I have a silver coin of the city of Cologne 1730, which bears on its obverse the arms of the city, with the legend *Civit. Colon.* ("City of Cologne.") On the reverse is a communion cup and the motto, *Signum Senatori*. This may mean the Senator's

*I have lately acquired an excellent specimen of this medal, in bronze.

Token, or Elder's Token. On the edge it reads *Bibite Cum Laetitia*. ("Drink ye with gladness.")

The Augsburg Confession was formally presented to the Emperor Charles, June 25th, 1530. This Cologne piece is one of those German anniversary coins so frequently met with. It was struck to commemorate the second centennial of the famous confession. Its origin may be more properly civil than sacramental, though the words on the rim are virtually what I have heard a hundred times at the communion table in Scotland, "Eat, O friends; drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved." (Cant. v: 1.)

A writer in *Notes and Queries*, March 14th, 1874, states that the "liturgy drawn up for the Church of Scotland, circa 1635 (not later), has this rubric prefixed to the order for administration of Holy Communion:—'So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion shall receive there

Tokins (*sic*) from the minister the night before.' The style of this rubric shows clearly that the reference was to an established practice, not to an innovation. In a note to the first impression of this book* the editor states (it existed in manuscript till 1871): 'The use of Tokens is mentioned very soon after the Reformation, and it has ever since continued in the Church of Scotland. They have always been used too, in the Episcopal congregations of old standing in the north of Scotland.'"

To this I may add that some forty years ago they were brought into use in the principal (at that time I suppose the only) Roman Catholic Church in Glasgow."

I believe it is still common among the fraternities of the Romish Church to present their members with a Token

* This work was published in 1871, as "Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI." Edited by Rev. Dr. Sprott.

on the occasion of their first communion.

The above writer goes on to speak of the jealousy existing between the different orders of the clergy, as to whose penitents should be admitted to communion, which necessitated the use of distinguishing marks, granted to those who were entitled to communicate.

He also calls attention to the collection in the National Library at Paris, of what are termed "Abbey Tokens." These pieces are usually of lead or pewter, many of them stamped with the cross on one side and on the reverse with various other religious symbols. These Tokens are believed by antiquaries to have been given to "frequenters of the sacraments."

I have a bronze piece which may be an Abbey Token, Obverse, a coat of arms with supporters. Reverse, *Salut de Saint Pierre*, 1733. ("Salvation by St. Peter.") Another of my medals may belong in the

same category. Obv., A very artistic head of Christ. Rev., *Aimez-Vous Les Uns Les Autres*. ("Love one Another"). A third piece shows an open hand with *Wel-dædigheyd Catechismus*. ("Catechism Benevolence.") This last is perhaps a Bread Penny, given to the poor who came for catechetical instruction on Sundays. Such pieces could be exchanged for a loaf at the baker's shop.

I have a great many ecclesiastical medals of whose history and significance I am totally ignorant. Others, I can only guess at.

The Festival of Fools was observed in some places, as late as the seventeenth century. The Abbot of Misrule held sovereign sway and all the ceremonies of the Church were burlesqued in the most profane manner while the saturnalia lasted.

That no detail might be omitted they even provided imitations of the Abbey

Tokens, stamped with sacrilegious emblems and blasphemous mottoes. Specimens of these are still to be met with.

Such may be some of the pieces which I own. Looked at in one way, you see the Sovereign Pontiff with his tiara. Turn the medal upside down and it shows the father of evil, grinning like a baboon. *Ecclesia Perversa Tenet Faciem Diaboli.* Or the staid ecclesiastic with his broad shovel-hat, reverses to the jabbering mountebank with his cap and bells. *Sapientes Aliquando Stulti.*

In modern, as in ancient times, the use of Tokens has not been confined to religious organizations. Wherever the "discipline of the secret" was deemed necessary for the protection of mysticism, some sure and convenient form of Token was adopted. The Rosicrucians are supposed to have had appropriate symbols for distinguishing the hidden brethren.

In the lodges of Free Masonry, the Mark Master Mason of to-day selects a permanent device for his "Mark," which forthwith becomes substantially the same thing as the *Tessera Hospitalis* of the ancient Romans.

VII.

ANTIQUITY OF TOKENS.

I have already referred to the Eleusinian and kindred mysteries, and the *Tesseræ* which were given as vouchers to the (ἐπόπται) fully initiated. These oath-bound brotherhoods are of the very highest antiquity and seem to have preserved a knowledge of the great First Power, the one and invisible God, the creator, governor and preserver of all things. It appears to be perfectly certain that these glimmerings of divine truth first took an organized form in Central Asia, the cradle of the human race. As secret societies, they existed among the Egyptians long before the time of Moses.

The doctrines they taught were highly esteemed and religiously studied by the philosophers of Greece. Their transmission to the same class among the

Romans followed as a matter of course. They were still carefully shrouded in secrecy and held in profound veneration.

It is quite true that, as the pagan mythology became more and more corrupt, the practices and teachings of the mysteries also degenerated. Still, the Christian Fathers did not always disdain to refer to them and to accord them a certain measure of respect, as "marking rather the nature of things, than the nature of the Gods."*

Eusebius, quoting from a contemporary, gives some explanation of their peculiar symbols. The enlightened members (*illuminati*) believed that God, being the principle of light, dwelt in the midst of a fire so subtile that he must always be invisible to the eyes of those who are clogged with mortality. To all such, his most striking emblems were transparent substances,

* M. Ouvaroff. *Mysteries of Eleusis*. London, 1817, p. 61.

crystal, precious stones, ivory and parian marble. Gold was the chosen symbol of his purity, as gold cannot be permanently dimmed. A black stone was adopted as the sign of the invisibility of the divine essence.*

These being the Tokens used by and between those "brethren of the mystic tie," they readily suggest the Urim and Thummim ("light and perfection") of the Jewish high priest and the white stone promised as a mark of distinction by St. John in the Apocalypse. Then come the gems and tablets of precious metal used by the early believers, followed by the leaden Tokens of the Reformation Churches.

*Ouvaroff, pp. 61, 62.

VIII.

TOKENS IN THE EARLY PROTESTANT RECORDS.

The early Reformed Confessions make frequent use of the generic words for Communion Tokens (*tesserae* and *méreaux*) and invariably apply them to the sacraments of the Church. The First Helvetic Confession, 1536, states emphatically :—*asserimus sacramenta non solum tesseras quædam societatis Christianæ, sed et gratiæ divina symbola esse.* (“ We assert that the sacraments are not merely Tokens of Christian organizations, but they are also symbols of divine grace.”)

The French Confession of Faith, 1559, Art. 34, states: *Nous croyons que les sacrements sont ajoutés à la Parole pour plus ample confirmation, afin de nous être gages et marreaux de la grâce de Dieu.* (“ We believe that the sacraments are joined to the Word

for more complete confirmation, that they may be to us pledges and Tokens of the grace of God.”)

The Formula of Concord, compiled by the divines adhering to the Augsburg Confession, 1576, “rejects and condemns” the doctrine: *Panem et vinum in Cæna Domini tantummodo symbola seu tesseras esse, quibus Christiani mutuo sese agnoscant.* (“That the bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper are merely symbols or Tokens by which Christians mutually recognize each other.”)

The French word *marreau* or *méreau*, is of considerable antiquity and has several varieties of spelling. A plausible derivation of the term is from the Latin verb *mereri*, “to deserve,” as Tokens (*méreaux*) were only given to those who were found worthy. The Augsburg Confession, 1530, speaking of the Communion, says: *Nulli enim admittuntur, nisi antea explorati.* (“For none are

admitted, except they are thoroughly examined beforehand.")

Per contra: St. Andrews Kirk Session Records, October 25, 1565, notes the case of a priest who had conformed to the new order of things and afterwards returned to Popery. "The which day, John Morrison, after his recantation admitted reader in Muthil, delated and summoned by the superintendent's letters to underlie discipline, for administration of baptism and marriage after the Papistical fashion, and that *indifferently to all persons*. And also for profanation of the Lord's Supper, abusing the same in private houses, as also in the kirkyard, about the kirkyard dykes, and receiving from each person that communicated one penny. And in special upon Pasche day last was, in the house of John Graham, he administered it to one hundred persons."

I give modern spelling of the above and the italics are mine.

The First Book of Discipline was adopted by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland in 1561. The following extracts from it show how strongly the early Reformers insisted on the instruction and intelligence of their communicants :

“All ministers must be admonished to be more careful to instruct the ignorant than ready to satisfy their appetites, and more sharp in examination than indulgent, in admitting to that great mystery such as be ignorant of the use and virtue of the same : and therefore we think that the administration of the Table ought never to be, without that examination pass before, especially of those whose knowledge is suspect. We think that none are apt to be admitted to that mystery who cannot formally say the Lord’s Prayer, the Articles of the Belief, and declare the sum of the Law. Every master of household must be commanded either to instruct, or

else cause to be instructed, his children, servants and family in the principles of the Christian religion : without the knowledge whereof ought none to be admitted to the Table of the Lord Jesus: for such as be so dull and so ignorant that they can neither try themselves, neither yet know the dignity and mystery of that action, can not eat and drink of that Table worthily. And therefore of necessity we judge it, that every year at least, public examination be had by the ministers and elders of the knowledge of every person within the Church, to wit, that every master and mistress of household come themselves and their family, so many as may be come to maturity, before the ministers and elders, to give confession of their faith, and to answer to such chief points of religion as the ministers shall demand. Such as be ignorant in the Articles of their Faith, understand not, nor can not rehearse the Commandments of God; know not how to

pray; neither whereinto their righteousness consists, ought not to be admitted to the Lord's Table."*

**St. Andrews' Kirk Session Register*, pp. 196, 197. I have again modernized the spelling.

IX.

TOKENS IN FRANCE.

In the annals of the French Huguenot Church, I find communion Tokens (*marreaux*) first mentioned in 1559. In the records of the Presbytery of Geneva, 1605, it is stated, "it would be an excellent thing that, according to the custom of the French churches, we should have Tokens." And again in 1613, "it would be proper to have Tokens both in the city and country churches."*

The session record of Nègrepelisse, April 21st, 1626, contains minute directions for the observance of the coming communion. Each Elder is designated by

**Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 2e Année.* Paris, 1854, p. 13 et seq.

Rev. Ch. L. Frossard, *Numismatique Protestante*, Paris, 1872, pp. 4, 5.

name for his special duty, and Elder Lebrueys is detailed to take charge of the plate (or tray) for the Tokens.

The Church Session of Melle, 1672, gives formal notice to all intending communicants that they must procure Tokens in good season so as to avoid confusion at the sacramental tables, and directs the Elders to distribute Tokens to the members in their respective districts.

Rev. Ch. L. Frossard of Paris, France, has published a description of forty-one Tokens used by the Reformed Communion. The most artistic in design and execution appear to be the oldest. Judging from the style of workmanship, they probably belong to the sixteenth century.

Twelve of Mons. Frossard's Tokens bear dates ranging from 1761 to 1821. Some of the devices and legends are exceedingly suggestive. *Ne crains point petit troupeau*, ("Fear not little flock,") and *Mes brebis entendent ma voix et me suivent*, ("My

sheep know my voice and follow me,") appear to be favorite mottoes on the older specimens and are singularly applicable to those "Churches of the Desert." The Token of the church of Celles-sur-Belle (Poitou) is noted as being still in use.

My best endeavors have failed to secure a specimen of the pieces described by Rev. Mons. Frossard. The following is a copy of a card-Token sent to me as being now used by a French Protestant Church in Montreal.

EGLISE PRESBYTERIENNE St. JEAN.

RUSSELL HALL, 1876, RUE STE. CATHERINE.

Le service divin est célébré tous les Dimanches matins à 11 heures et le soir à 7 heures.

Ecole du Dimanche et classe biblique tous les Dimanches à 3 heures.

Réunion de prières le mercredi soir à 8 heures, précédée d'une répétition de

chant sacré à laquelle tous les membres sont priés d'assister.

TOUTES LES PLACES SONT LIBRES.

Les membres non communicants qui désirent assister à la cérémonie de la Communion sont invités à prendre place dans les bancs de côté.

REVERSE.

M..... Rue.....

Le conseil presbytéral de l'église St. Jean vous rappelle que le service de la Sainte Cène aura lieu à l'église St. Jean (Russell Hall), 1876, rue Ste. Catherine, le Dimanche.....

à l'issue du service du.....
et vous invite cordialement à y participer.

Vous voudrez bien apporter la présente carte et la remettre à l'ancien qui la demandera avant la célébration du service de la Sainte Cène.

The chalice, or communion cup, is a favorite device on sacramental Tokens.

Thirty-one of Mons. Frossard's French Tokens are decorated with *une coupe eucharistique*, and I have seen stray notices of several others.

Many of the Scottish and Canadian Tokens bear the likeness of the sacred



cup. One in my collection from Dysart, Scotland, 1804, is specially noteworthy. A dotted circle surrounds a cup

having a broad foot, a short stem, a not very deep bowl, and a handle on each side. A tolerably fair model of the ministerial chalice used by the primitive Church.

The preference for this emblem doubtless dates back to the early part of the fifteenth century, when it was adopted as the badge of the Hussites. The "Communion of the Cup" became their watchword, and the cup itself was blazoned on their banners. The eucharistic wine had been forbidden to the laity, and the Re-

formers contended for the use of both the communion elements. As a name marking their belief, members of the new party were known as "Utraquists" (or "Calixtines") and the term is still a familiar one in Bohemia and Moravia.

Considering the importance of the cup, or rather of the consecrated wine, in the observance of the sacrament, this may be an appropriate place to introduce some items connected with its use in the sacred service.

The Christian Church was scarcely established when a difference of opinion sprang up on this, as on almost all other doctrines and practices. Many insisted on using pure wine. The Armenian Church zealously contended for this, and still adhere to it as an article of their faith. At the other extreme were a number of heretical sects, Aquarians, Hydroparastatæ, Docetæ, Ebionites, Tatianites, and others, who, on various pleas of ascetism and mysticism,

used nothing but water in the Eucharistic celebration.

The most common practice was to mingle water with the wine. A variety of reasons was given for this. Some justified it by referring to real or supposed Jewish Passover customs. Others contended for it as a type of the blood of Jesus, shed on the cross when "blood and water" (John XIX: 34) followed the thrust of the soldier's spear.

The Byzantine Church poured boiling water into the wine as an emblem of the fervency of their faith. Some thought that red wine was the suitable token of the Redeemer's blood. Others contended for white wine as signifying the purity of the hope that was in them.

We are too apt to think of the first centuries of Christianity as times of peace, and piety, and purity. The very opposite was the case. Enquiring minds (so called) were as fashionable then as now. The

deadly heresies and mystical fantasies of those times find their exact counterparts in the empty agnosticism and vapid whimsicalities which infest the Church of to-day. Many good Christian people who now come to the Lord's table, "strain out the gnat, and swallow the camel," (Matt. XXIII:24) just as some Church members did in the days of old.

I find the mixed cup early referred to in the Episcopal Church. A rubric of Edward VI. provides the addition of "a little pure and clear water to the wine of the Communion."

There is a curious direction given in the first Service Book of Edward VI. Some communicants were evidently inclined to drink from the chalice, instead of merely sipping the wine. The minister is enjoined to "give every one to drink once and no more." The reminder is strong of St. Paul's rebuke in 1 Cor. XI: 21.

That there was abundant reason for this restrictive warning is very evident from the complaints made by devout ecclesiastics as to the behaviour of communicants. After the laity were debarred from the sacramental wine, it would seem as if a compromise had been introduced so as to reconcile them to the innovation. After the celebration of the Mass, a sort of imitation of the love-feasts of the early Church was permitted. In 1325, the Archbishop of Canterbury complains bitterly that, after the Easter communion, "unconsecrated oblations and wine were given them in the Church, where they sit, and eat and drink, as they would in taverns."* Many appear to have come as of old, simply for the loaves and fishes.

In the accounts of the diocese of Durham there are repeated charges (1370 to 1387) for communion wine in large quan-

* *Notes and Queries*. Jan., 1856.

tities. The smallest amount quoted is at Monk-Wearmouth, 1380. *In vino empto pro celebratione et communione parochianorum*, "five shillings and four pence."* With wine at four pence a gallon, this must have furnished fair refreshment for a small parish.

Tokens were evidently much used in France. I find them frequently referred to in the *Bulletin* of the French Protestant Historical Society. The volume for 1853 contains a long extract from the Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Morinie, 1834. The article is written by M. Alex. Hermand, who seems to be a Roman Catholic author, and a man of considerable learning. He dwells much on the antiquity of the term, and does not hesitate to affirm that Tokens (*méreaux*) were used for many purposes prior to the twelfth century. The material of these Tokens varied

* *Notes and Queries*, Nov., 1855.

greatly. They were made of paper, paste-board, wax, leather, glass, and at last were generally made of lead or brass.

Like the Roman *tesseræ*, they sometimes had a representative, but not an intrinsic value. A purse full of *méreaux* was no better than an empty purse.

“States, provinces, municipalities, corporations, fraternities, cathedral chapters, and every kind of organization had their appropriate Tokens. In short, they were used as tickets or Tokens of admission, or as certificates of brotherhood at convocations of every kind. At sheriff-courts, synods, conferences of communities and abbeys, free-masons’ lodges, etc. All corporate organizations used them, and even in the Protestant churches they were distributed to those who desired admission to the communion.”

In this Historical Society magazine, Tokens are often mentioned as a ready and necessary means of protection and disci-

pline. In some cases a special church register was kept and the name of each member recorded, who asked admission to the communion. There are frequent glimpses of the power of government and the firm rule exercised by the church sessions of those early days.

I find the same migration of Tokens which has been already spoken of as existing in Scotland and Canada, resulting from the same causes. This was the means of introducing Tokens among the German Reformed Churches bordering on France.

One very characteristic incident is narrated at great length. In 1584, a lady of rank, attached to the Court of Navarre, Madame du Plessis-Mornay, made a long visit for rest and recreation, to Montauban, then as now, a stronghold of Protestantism. In her new home she came into determined conflict with Mons. Berault, the pastor of the Church. The National Synod had prescribed strict rules as to the

plainness of dress and personal adornment of church members. In consequence of these regulations, Mons. Berault debarred from the Holy Supper all those women who "parted their hair." Madame de Mornay, with her court fashions, fell under the ban and was forbidden to commune. Her husband sent the pastor a written list of the communicants in his household and requested Tokens (*méreaux*) for them. Mons. Berault returned for answer that "he had trouble enough with his own flock." The Madame, with her children and servants, appeared at the pastor's preliminary catechizing and were promptly boycotted. He would not even acknowledge the presence of the men-servants "who were not subject to any rule about their hair."

Session, Presbytery, and Synod were invoked in turn. Decisions were given in favor of Madame as being a stranger and not subject to local restrictions, but the

zealous clergyman contrived to evade their edicts and exclude the lady. She at last found a more considerate pastor in a neighboring village, where she and her family were welcomed to communion. All the attendant circumstances are narrated in full detail and form a striking picture of early church discipline.*

**Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.* 1re année, pp. 487-514.

X.

TOKENS IN HOLLAND.

I have discovered that the use of Tokens was at one time common in Holland, and it may still exist there. I have two Tokens of different types (mentioned by Rev. Mons. Frossard), from the Walloon Church at Amsterdam, both dated 1586, and which were used there till 1828.

What is known as the Walloon Church was originally composed of Flemish and French refugees, chiefly the latter. French pastors were in charge and doubtless introduced Tokens and other French customs. During the persecution in Britain, under the Stuarts, many of the Non-conformists took refuge in Holland. There were Scotch churches in Amsterdam, Leyden, and other principal cities. Many eminent ministers were in charge of them and must have used their own forms of worship.

I have several other Tokens and Bread-Pennies from Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The dates are from 1707 to 1861. Some



of them are said to be from Lutheran churches. Two, of 1764 and 1786, bear the same devices and legends, but are of very differ-

ent types. On one side is the crown of thorns with palm branches, and on the other, a swan. The mottoes are, *Regnum Christi*, and, *Perennis Candore*.

In ancient times, the Swan was welcomed by sailors as a sure presage of smooth seas and safety. *Nunquam mergit in undis*. ("No storm could overwhelm it.")

The swan, or references thereto, appears so frequently on Luther's numerous medals, that it may be called his attribute. The reason for this is as follows :

When John Hus was about to be led to the stake, at Constance, July 6th, 1415, he said to his judges : "For this, in one hundred years, ye shall answer to God, and to me."

What may be termed the official date of Luther's Reformation is usually given as October 31st, 1517, a century after the death of Hus.

The name "Hus" is the Bohemian word for *goose*. As he was being bound to the stake he said to those around : "Ye may burn this goose (Hus), but from its ashes will rise hereafter a swan whose singing ye shall not be able to silence."

It is usually believed that both these prophetic utterances were fulfilled in the great Reformer, and the allusions to them on Luther's medals are frequent. I have an old silver medal with the bust of Hus on one side and that of Luther on the other. Around the latter is this legend : *Was Iene Gans Gedacht Dat Diser Schwan*

Vollbracht. A modern medal of Luther, in my collection, has a figure of Hus at the stake, and reads : *Jetzt Bratet Ihr Eine Gans. Nach Hundert Jahren Kommt Ein Schwan Den Werdet Ihr Ungebraten Lan.* I have another old Hus medal with, *Centum Revolutis Annis Deo Respondebitis et Mihi.*

In spite of this well-known connection between Luther and the swan, I have not succeeded in connecting my swan Tokens with the Lutheran Church. All the Lutheran authorities I have consulted disclaim any affinity with the Communion Token, as being foreign to their usages and traditions.

Like the Roman Catholic Church, their altars are understood to be open to all worshippers without restriction. At the same time, I find every church exercising an oversight as to the personality of its communicants. The details vary somewhat in different countries and I do not

think they are quite uniform, even in the same country. I find some clergymen insist on previous notice from intending communicants, so that only the requisite number of wafers may be consecrated. Others follow a more or less elaborate system of day-book and ledger accounts, and thus keep themselves informed of the faithfulness of each church member.

I have a Lutheran sacramental wafer, stamped with the figure of Christ on the cross and the letters "I. N. R. I." (*Jehsus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum.*)

I have two copper Tokens without date which are of the same pattern, though one is of much ruder workmanship than the other. In the centre is a pelican feeding her young. The legend is, *Sigil. Eccle. Fless.* ("Seal of the Church of Flushing.") The ancient fable of the pelican tearing her own breast and feeding her young with the blood is one of the oldest emblems of Christ, who shed his blood for his children, and gave

himself for the redemption of mankind. "I am like a pelican of the wilderness," (Ps. CII: 6) was understood to be prophetically spoken of the Messiah and to exemplify the love he bears to his people, feeding and caring for them in the wilderness of this world. In an old book of emblems the pelican is shown surrounded by her hungry brood. The lesson is enforced by the couplet:

"Our Pelican, by bleeding thus,
Fulfilled the Law, and cured us."*

The following stray lines (I know not from what source) quaintly set forth the popular recognition of the symbol:

*Ut pelicanus fit matris sanguine sanus, sic
genus humanum fit Christi sanguine sanus.*
("As the pelican is revived by its mother's blood, so are all mankind restored to life by the blood of Christ.")

*George Wither, *A collection of emblemes* (sic) *quickened with metrical illustrations*, London, 1634.

Shakespeare does not omit to take notice of this current belief. Laertes threatens the direst vengeance against the murderers of his father, and in the same breath promises—

“To his good friends thus wide I’ll ope
my arms,
And, like the kind life-rendering pelican,
Repast them with my blood.”

Hamlet, act iv, scene 5.

These Tokens were sent to me as coming from the Lutheran Church of Flushing, Holland. It seems more probable that they should belong to the Walloon Church.

XI.

TOKENS USED BY THE UNITED BRETHREN.

I have a very handsome card Token which is used in the Church of the United Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*) at Bethlehem, Pa. The use of such cards was, at one time, the general custom of their Church. Previous to the sacramental season, all members were examined by the minister, as to their spiritual condition. If the interview (*Das Sprechen*) was satisfactory, each received a card with his name written thereon. Before the communion these cards were collected by the officers of the Church. The object being, as with every other Church exercising due watchfulness, to insure worthy participation in the ordinance.

I have two Tokens that were used for many years by a mission church belonging to these Brethren, in the Island of Santa

Cruz, Danish West Indies. One is an octagonal piece of copper, which was given to the intending participants, on the Sabbath before the communion, provided they successfully passed the ordeal of the church officers at the "preparation meeting." This Token was presented to the pastor during the intervening week at "the speaking." If he also was satisfied as to the spiritual fitness of the applicant, the copper piece was exchanged for a mahogany Token. This is the real admission ticket, and is taken up at the "love feast" which, in this church, precedes the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Both of these Tokens are stamped with the letters "F. B.," signifying *Friedens Berg*, or "Mountain of Peace," the name of the mission station on this island. These Tokens were for many years, generally used in that part of the world. They are now fast disappearing. The present minister (Rev. A. B. Romig) believes that his con-

gregation is the only one still using them in the West Indies.*

The United Brethren were formerly accustomed to appeal to "the lot" for direction in their church work, and even in some circumstances of their daily life. Traces of this custom still remain, and the practice is founded upon such texts as Prov. xvi: 33: "The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord." And Acts 1: 26: "And they gave forth their lots, and the lot fell upon Matthias."

One of their clergymen† writes to me that about a century ago, no matter how satisfactory the preliminary interviews had been, a final appeal was made to the lot. If that decided against the member, he refrained from going forward to the com-

*I learn that this Church, not many years ago, used a metal Token in the Island of Antigua, West Indies. I have not succeeded in adding a specimen to my collection.

† Rev. Edwin J. Reinke, Grace Hill, Iowa.

munion. We may smile at this manner of reaching a decision, but it is a striking example of the trust and simplicity that characterized this Church, which pre-eminently walked "by faith, not by sight."

St. Thomas, another of the Danish West India Islands, has a Reformed Dutch Church which used a Token, up to a very recent date. It is an oval pewter Token, of a type very common in Scotland and Canada. It is inscribed "Communion



Token, Reformed Dutch Church, St. Thomas." On the reverse are the oft-repeated texts, "But

Let a Man Examine Himself," and "This Do In Remembrance of Me." The custom is now discontinued.

This is the only instance I have been able to discover of the use of Tokens by the Dutch or German Reformed Churches in America. A Scotch minister who was

in charge at St. Thomas, several years ago, is probably responsible for its introduction.

Tokens are also to be found at the Antipodes. Wherever the Scotch Presbyterian colonist established himself, his church, his school, and all their distinctive belongings, readily obtained "a local habitation and a name."

In Australia and New Zealand the old formality is still practised.

I have two handsome Tokens of precisely the same type and device. They both read, "Presbyterian Church, Otago, N. Z." The reverse has the same familiar texts that are met with on older specimens, nearer home,—*"The Lord Knoweth Them That Are His,"* &c. They bear, respectively, the church names of "Kaihiku" and "Warepa." The time has come which the prophet saw afar off, when "the isles shall wait for His law," when there shall be heard "his praise from the end of the earth,—the isles and

the inhabitants thereof." (Isa. xlii : 4-10.) The emigrant to the waste places of New Zealand has carried with him the Church of his fathers and all its customs.

I have a neat nickel Token from Creswick, Victoria, Australia, with the familiar and suggestive texts, "But Let a Man Examine Himself," and "This Do In Remembrance of Me."

Even in that far-off country, the spirit of change is abroad. The new-fangled card is driving out the antique disc of metal. I have a card, "Token of Admission to the Lord's Table," with appropriate quotations from Luke and Corinthians. This comes from Erskine Church, Carlton, Victoria, Australia.

XII.

EARLY USE OF TOKENS IN SCOTLAND.

The fathers of the Reformation were, above all things, conservative men. A Church fashioned in every respect on the apostolic model, was the ideal which they sought to establish. As they particularly avoided the use of novelties in all the details of church service, it is far more likely that they adopted a custom already hallowed by primitive usage, than that they were led to introduce an innovation of their own.

The Token practice seems to have struck its roots deepest into Scottish soil, and there it became universally adopted.

The first meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was held in Edinburgh, December 20, 1560, and that year the Reformation was recognized as an accomplished fact. Tokens were

already in use, for in the Records of St. Andrews' Kirk Session, May 2d, 1560, there is mention of a person who refused "ane tecket." In the municipal records of Edinburgh, 1578, there is a charge made for "tikkets," and another for "stamping of thame," by one of the city goldsmiths.

Mr. R. W. Cochran-Patrick of Beith, gives an account of his Token researches. His oldest date on a Token is 1622. He adds, "probably some of the undated ones are earlier." The first record he has discovered of the use of metal Tokens is in Edinburgh, 1574, though they may have been used in St. Andrews, a year or two before that date.

He concludes his remarks with : "Leaden counters were used in the Catholic churches before the Reformation. I have some in my collection with emblems on them which could hardly have been in use in the Pres-

byterian Church, in the 17th or 18th century.”*

In the Session Records of South Leith, Tokens are first referred to September 18th, 1613. The Elders are designated by name for their respective duties and six Elders are appointed “for ye Tickets.” April 15th, 1614, six Elders are again named “for ye resaiueing (receiving) of ye Tickets.”

John Spalding, in his *Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland and England*, † giving an account of the General Assembly that was convened at Glasgow, November 21st, 1638, makes an incidental reference to the practice. “Within the said church, the Assembly thereafter sitts down. The church doors was straitly guarded by the toun. None had entrance, but he who

* *Notes and Queries*, June 28, 1879.

† *Memorials of the Trubbles*, published by the Spalding Club. Aberdeen, 1850. 2 Vols. Vol. I, p. 117.

had ane Tokin of lead, declareing that he was ane Covenanter."*

This seems exactly like a repetition of the Roman use of the Token as a *Tessera Militaris*, on which the soldier's watch-word was engraved, and without which, no one was permitted to pass.

The St. Andrews' Kirk Session Register, 1559 to 1582,† lately published by the Scottish History Society, contains much curious sacramental information. The use of the Tokens is constantly spoken of as a common and well established practice.

May 2nd, 1560, Walter Adie is brought before the Session and charged with having contemptuously rejected "ane tecket" proffered to him by William Mayne, one of the elders. ‡ Wednesday, May 7th, 1572,

* (Original spelling) :—" The churchie durris was straitlie gardit by the toune, none had entress bot he who had ane taikin of leid, declairing he wes ane covenantier.

†*St. Andrews Kirk Session Register, 1559-1582*, Edinburgh, 1889.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 34.

there is a decree of the Session against those who present themselves at communion without Tokens. I copy the edict verbatim and modernize the spelling. "The which day the seat (Session) has ordained that in time coming, none shall present themselves to the communion without tickets received from the clerk of the quarter where they dwell, or minister. And who that does the contrary shall make public satisfaction, and upon their knees ask God's and the congregation's forgiveness."*

June 3d, 1573, this very emphatic ordinance is supplemented as follows :—"The said day, it is decreed by the Session that the Act made in their books, regarding them that present themselves to the communion without tickets, or with counterfeit tickets, of the date of May 7th, 1572, be put in execution."†

In 1659, nearly a century after this, I

* *Ibid.* pp. 365, 366.

† *Ibid.* p. 379.

find the Presbytery of St. Andrews passing a resolution of similar import. "The Presbytery considering the great scandall committed by such quho having Tokens allowed to them for receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, doe not make use thereof, bot give them to such as are not allowed by the Minister and Session to that ordinance, upon good grounds, doe appoint both the parties, in such cases, to be publickly rebuked."*

This offence of receiving Tokens, as it were under false pretences, and then giving them to unworthy persons who could not themselves obtain them, was a frequently recurring scandal and grievance throughout the churches. So disreputable was it considered to be debarred from the crowning sacrament of the church, that many devices to obtain admission were resorted to, besides the one just mentioned.

* *St. Andrews' Session Records. Life and Work.* Edinburgh. April, 1888. p. 61.

Two cases of discipline were acted upon by the Session of Mauchline, where the parties had endeavored to deceive the Elder by dropping a small coin into his hand.

In 1646, two members were cited to appear before the Presbytery of Lanark, "for stealing the communion in the Church of Carmichael." In 1647, the session of Gals-ton, Ayrshire, censured a man for "giving a ticket to a strange unknown woman, to whom the minister refused a ticket for manifold reasons." The woman was also subjected to discipline for receiving and making use of the Token.*

From these dates onward I find the tickets, or Tokens constantly mentioned. Their use was evidently an established adjunct of the observance of the sacrament.

* *Scottish National Memorials*. Edited by James Paton. Glasgow, 1890. p. 343.

XIII.

GENERAL USE OF TOKENS IN SCOTLAND.

The religious gatherings to which the Tokens pertained became completely interwoven with the daily life of the people and were looked upon as a devout recreation. As a proof of this I find that in England, when farm servants were being hired they stipulated for time to enjoy the diversions of so many wakes and fairs during the year. On the north side of the Tweed, the Scotch ploughman or dairymaid bargained for permission to attend the neighboring sacraments. Sometimes a lukewarm applicant agreed for "one sacrament or two fairs," as might be most convenient for the employer. This plainly indicates the relative importance attached to the respective holidays.*

* *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk.* Anon. (John Gibson Lockhart.) Edinburgh, 1819. pp. 301-321.

Several items which I have gleaned in the course of my reading may not be out of place here, as illustrations of the growth and prevalence of the venerable custom, and of sacramental usages in general.

In session records, the words "Tickets" and "Tokens" are used interchangeably, according to the fancy of the clerk. Written cards and metal Tokens are met with in the same Church and at the same time.

In 1590, the Session of St. Andrews paid for the Token-moulds and 2,000 Tokens. In May, 1596, this session decrees, "that no person hereafter shall write *tickets* to the communion, nor yet present tickets hereafter, but such as the session shall ordain to that effect, under pain of public admonition and repentance." In February, 1600, it is further enacted "that every ticket bear the person's name and the examiner's name."*

* *St. Andrews' Kirk Session Register. 1582-1600.* Edinburgh, 1890, pp. 818, 920.

In 1673, the Session of Galston decided "to give to the Elder of each quarter, a certified list of all the communicants within his district, and as many *tickets* as there were names upon his list." In 1735, the Session of Mauchline met after sermon on the Fast-day, and "the Elders received *Tokens* to distribute to their respective quarters."*

These are exactly the methods now pursued by the churches who use cards. A regular account is kept with each person, and it can be told at a glance if members are careless in their attendance at communion.

There are frequent intimations that *tickets* were also made of metal. In the expense account of the Church of Dumbarton, 1620, there is a charge, "For three pounds of lead to be tickets to the communicants, 6 shillings." (Edgar, p. 314.)

Returning to the St. Andrews Register,

* Edgar's *Old Church Life*, pp. 134-135.

the following sacramental references are noted. July, 1583, one man is sharply rebuked for offering a counterfeit ticket at the Lord's Table, and another who had not been at examination, and had not received a ticket, tried to pass with his employer's ticket, but found himself in the grasp of the church law. (p. 505.)

November, 1583, Alexander Sharp, baker, presents a bill of £5 os. 8d., "for seven year's bread bygone, furnished by him to the communion." This does not speak well for the business habits of the session. (p. 513.)

May, 1595, a contumacious woman is made to appear publicly in church and "ask God and the congregation forgiveness for not coming to communion and refusing to be reconciled to her neighbor." (p. 797.)

July, 1598, arrangements are made for the communion, and special Elders are detailed "to labor for taking away of all

offences and feuds among the neighbors of this city, for the better humiliation of the people and preparing of them to the said holy work." And again, in March, 1599, the session "ordained all the feuds and offences among the neighbors of this city to be taken away and agreed :—whosoever refuses and absents themselves from that holy table, to be punished therefor :—wilful refusers to communicate, shall be excommunicated." To which is added, "no tickets shall be given to such persons as have not paid their part of the contribution to the poor." (pp. 861, 884.) This preliminary duty is frequently insisted on. (pp. 845, 884, 906.)

October, 1595 :—"It is statute that no person be admitted to the communion, but such as confess the truth with us, and subtracts not themselves from preaching and catechizing; and that can say the Lord his Prayer and Ten Commandments, and that can answer to the questions of the

Little Catechism ; and that be sixteen years of age." (p. 809.)

April, 1596, minute details are specified for the communion. The tickets are to be written and subscribed by the clerk, and countersigned by the ministers. The Elders are designated by name for their respective duties. Four Elders are "to stand at the little kirk door, to receive and try the tickets, and none to enter but at that door." (p. 815.)

July, 1598, special directions are again given for the coming celebration. "Upon the next Sabbath the morning preaching to begin at five hours, and such as hear that preaching shall then communicate only ; and to that effect the doors to be locked at the ending of the Psalm ; William Moffat and Andrew Watson are appointed to collect the tickets." (p. 862.)

At Galston, 1634, a man had to make public repentance and pay a fine of ten shillings for giving away his Token. In

1673, the same Session records that "several hundreds of tickets are distributed among strangers with sufficient testimonials from several places." (Edgar, pp. 239, 173.)

I have already mentioned a troublesome incident at Mauchline, in 1771. As I happen to own the Token in use there at that time, I give the circumstances at length.



The Token is round, thin, and about the size of an English sixpence. A young lad going forward to his first communion, excited and oblivious of minor matters, handed the Elder a sixpence. This was a heinous offence. The boy was promptly summoned before the session and called to account. He expressed great sorrow, all the more no doubt because he had nearly lost his sixpence. It was easy for him to show that he meant no disrespect to the ordinance, but that did not save him from being formally rebuked for

his irreverent heedlessness, and admonished to be more careful in time to come. (Edgar, 202.)

Rev. John Semple of Carsphairn, Kirkcudbrightshire, was a kind of John-the-Baptist Covenanter. Bold, fearless and devout, "All men counted him that he was a prophet indeed." The following anecdote (*circa*, 1650) is recorded of him : "Upon a certain time, when a neighboring minister was distributing Tokens before the sacrament, and was reaching a Token to a certain woman, Mr. Semple (standing by) said, 'hold your hand, she hath gotten too many Tokens already ; she is a witch ;' which, though none suspected her then, she herself confessed to be true."*

In Dr. McCrie's *Story of the Scottish Church*, is a very picturesque account of a moorland communion among the hills of Teviotdale, during the persecution *circa*

* John Howie, *Scot's Worthies*. Edinburgh, 1870, p. 380.

1670. The people gathered on the banks of the Whittader. The men were more or less armed, as the enemy had threatened to break up the solemnity, "and trample the sacred elements under foot." Some hundred and fifty or more horsemen were stationed as pickets and sentinels to guard against a surprise.

From Saturday morning till Monday evening the services were continued without interruption. Five ministers officiated and all the usual formalities were gone through with. Sixteen tables were served and 3,200 persons communicated that day. "None were admitted without Tokens as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers, or persons of trust, to be free of public scandals."*

Rev. Robert Wodrow, of Eastwood, Ren-

*Rev. Thomas McCrie, D.D., LL.D. *The Story of the Scottish Church*, Edinburgh. 1875. pp. 307-310.

frewshire, that most industrious historian and biographer, gives us in his *Analecta*, the following Token item which occurred at his own communion, in 1711. "Two or three English soldiers presented themselves at that communion, and one of them came forward without a Token. He happened to be seated near the upper end of the table, within whispering reach of Wodrow himself, who seeing that he had no Token, desired him to come out to the church yard, where he asked him why he had presumed to seat himself at the Lord's table without a Token of admission. 'In my native country,' replied the soldier, 'there is no such custom as you refer to, and if I have given offense it was not of intention, but in ignorance of Scottish ways.' Wodrow then examined him, and, being well satisfied with his answers, gave him a Token, and told him he might go forward to the next table." *

* *Scottish National Memorials*. Glasgow. 1890. p. 343.

In 1727, the following entry occurs in the church book of Ettrick, Selkirkshire. "The Session met to distribute Tokens, but finding that a horse-race was to come off before Communion Sabbath, forbade any member to attend and decided to hold over the Tokens till after the race."

Forfar Session records tell of a man who was compelled to return his 'Token to the Elder, because he had been absent from Church on one of the days of preparation.

In Dr. Samuel Johnson's celebrated *Tour to the Hebrides*, 1773, we read of a visit he paid to the Rev. Kenneth McAulay, at Cawdor, Invernessshire. Boswell tells that, "Mrs. McAulay received us, and told us her husband was at the Church distributing Tokens. We arrived between twelve and one o'clock and it was near three before he came to us." Boswell further adds in a foot-note, "In Scotland there is a great deal of preparation before ad-

ministering the sacrament. The minister of the parish examines the people as to their fitness, and to those whom he approves, gives little pieces of tin, stamped with the name of the parish, as Tokens, which they must produce before receiving it. This is a species of priestly power, and sometimes may be abused. I remember a law suit brought by a person against his parish minister, for refusing him admission to that sacred ordinance.”*

Dr. Jamieson (*Scottish Dictionary*) takes notice of the mistake made in ascribing so much power to the minister, who only co-operates with his elders in maintaining discipline. Boswell, though a Scotsman, was an Episcopalian, which probably accounts for his note being deficient in clear and exact description.

The fact is that the very reverse of Boswell's statement is correct. When the

* Croker's *Boswell*. New York, 1860. p. 361.

minister and elders gathered by the pulpit to distribute the Tokens, the first thing done was to constitute the Session by the opening prayer. All doubtful cases were thus decided, not by the minister alone, but by the Session, as the lawfully organized Church Court. As has been already noted, the opposite rule prevails in the Episcopal Church, where the officiating clergyman both possesses and exercises the power of excluding all those who, in his judgment, are "evil-livers," or who "remain obstinate in their frowardness and malice," toward their neighbors. He is, of course, required to report all such cases to the bishop, or his deputy, for approval.

In the "Annals of the Old School Church," by the Rev. David Scott, of Salt-coats, Scotland, there are several instances where discipline and tokens are mentioned together.* The following examples are

*Rev. David Scott. *Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church*. Edinburgh. 1886.

from the Session records of an Edinburgh church.

October 5, 1800: Two members were censured for walking in a Masonic procession. November 3, 1800 : One of them professed his penitence before the Session, was rebuked by the Moderator and served with a Token.*

May 8, 1834, being the Fast-day, A— was reported to the Session as having been seen leaving town by the railway. He afterwards stated that he went to see a friend who had lately met with an accident. Adding that “he left it with the Session to give or withhold a Token as they saw cause.” His excuse was not accepted and he was refused his Token.†

October 5, 1835: B—— and his wife were reported as living “on no very amiable terms,” and were refused Tokens. Before next communion they promised to

* *Ibid.* pp. 447-448.

† *Ibid.* p. 451.

“forget their quarrels and live in harmony.” They were granted their Tokens accordingly.*

These extracts all tend to show how thoroughly incorporated the Tokens had become with the religious observances of the people and what stress was laid on their proper and reverent use.

* *Ibid.* p. 453.

XIV.

TOKENS AS CONNECTED WITH THE LORD'S SUPPER.

We now live in the era of new practices and new fashions. Some of us who can recollect the old styles, look back upon them with regret. We all remember them with feelings of deep interest. The lengthy communion services may have been at times, a weariness to the flesh. Still, I delight to recall my boyish reminiscences of the solemn and suggestive ceremonies.

How intently I used to watch the distribution of the Tokens. There were floating traditions of applicants who had been refused. Such-a-one had quarrelled with a neighbor. Such-another-one had come home from the fair with more than he could well carry. Some for one reason,

some for another, had been debarred from approaching the holy ordinance. Would such a case happen to-day?

There went one person who fell short of my juvenile standard of perfection. Would he dare to ask for a Token? Would he get one if he did?

And then, on the Sabbath, how curiously I observed the Elders going their rounds. Would they find any one without a Token? If so, what would happen? Would the "minister's man" be called upon to lead the offender out by the collar? Might it not even come to a case before the Fiscal, or the "Shirra," with thirty days in jail at the end of it?

Enough to say that nothing so dreadful ever occurred in my experience. Away out here, in a little Wisconsin church, I learned of a woman,—no man would ever have dared to do such a thing,—who actually sat down at the table without a Token. There was a short but decisive

conference among the Elders, and the criminal was at once escorted to the door, where, woman-like, she sat down and had a good cry.

As possibly an additional reason for her summary expulsion, my informant added significantly, "she was also accused of *promiscuous hearing*."

XV.

NOTICES OF SPECIAL TOKENS.

There is a "love of money" which is not "the root of evil." I have been a votary of this love ever since I was old enough to distinguish between a copper with a foreign face and the "bawbees" of every day currency. The habit has stuck to me all my life, till my modest beginning with a few battered halfpence has grown to be a very respectable collection of coins.

Some years ago I began to gather sacramental Tokens, partly because they belonged to what may be called the department of ecclesiastical numismatics, and partly because they were linked with my early Scottish memories of what was most solemn and sacred in our church services. I kept on quietly picking up one here and

another there, as opportunity offered, never dreaming that any one but myself cared for them.

All at once I found that there was a rage for Tokens and that collectors were everywhere in the field. At the Glasgow International Exposition of 1888, there was a case containing 1,500 Tokens. I am in correspondence with a gentleman in Scotland, who has upwards of 5,000.*

In view of this, I have been made to feel how insignificant my own work has been.

Still, my little collection is not without some features of interest. I have specimens from the length and breadth of Scotland. From the very "Ultima Thule," from Northmaven in the Shetland Islands, from Westray and from Hoy in the Ork-

*Mr. John Reid, 13 Wellmeadow, Blairgowrie, Scotland. An indefatigable collector who will welcome any correspondence relating to Tokens or communion customs.

ney Islands, down to the Tweed and the Solway, Berwick and Gretna. Edinburgh in the east and Glasgow in the west are well represented. I have several pieces from every county in Scotland, and many counties make a liberal display.

I am indebted to the Rev. William Bell of Gretna, for an almost unique Token of that Church. It is marked "D. C.," which he amplifies into *Δεῖπνον χριστοῦ*, or "Supper of the Lord." From references to it in the session records, this Token must be long, at least, to the seventeenth century.

Some Tokens from the Highland Churches have their legends in the native Gaelic.

Here is a sample from the parish of Stornoway, Island of Lewis, Northern Hebrides. *Eaglais Shaor Charlabhach*. ("Free Church of Carloway.") *Déanaibh So Mar Chuimhneachan Ormsa*. (1 Cor. XI : 24.)

I have ten Tokens from the Presbyterian Churches of England, and two from

the Isle of Man. Mr. Reid, of Blairgowrie, has more than a hundred Tokens from England. Several of these date back to the seventeenth century. It is to be noted that very many of the old Scotch Tokens have "K" for Kirk. Nearly all the English Presbyterian Churches, and the Scotch Churches in England, mark their Tokens with "M." for Meeting-house.

I have a round dozen of Tokens from Ireland, stretching from Larne to Tipperary. The Larne Token proudly chron-



icles the fact, that the church to which it belongs was erected in 1627. I have 130 from Canada, reaching from St. John's, Newfound-

land, to the Kildonan Church, at Winnipeg.*

I have 50 from the United States, ex-

*A writer in *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1886, mentions that Communion Tokens are still used in Cape Breton.

tending from Vermont to Georgia. Three from the West Indies, two from New Zealand, and one from Australia, swell my cabinet to upwards of 800.

I have several in which I feel a personal concern. I have one from the church round which lie the graves of my grandparents, my father, and many of my kindred. I have one from the church which I attended in my early youth. This



Token bears the name of the most varied and comprehensive author that ever adorned the Secession Church.*

I have one from the church of which I first became a member. It is stamped



with the initials of the great historian of Knox and Melville.† It may possibly be the

* Rev. James Aitken Wylie, LL. D. His name is misspelled on the Token.

† Rev. Thomas McCrie, D. D., LL. D.

very Token that admitted me to the sealing ordinance of the Church.

I have a rude Token marked "G. K." (Georgetown Kirk) that may have per-



formed the same office for my wife in her little backwoods church. More than 3,000 miles apart and ignorant of each other's existence,

we were observing the same ordinance and conforming to the same custom.

I have representatives of many churches whose names are familiar as household words in Reformation history, St. Andrews, Perth, Aberdeen, and similar places.

I have one from Cambuslang marked with the year 1742, the very date of what has long been known as the "Cambuslang wark," the greatest revival that occurred in the Church of Scotland.

I have one of the same year from

Mauchline, where Robert Burns lived for a considerable time and he may have used this identical Token.

I have one from Longside, Aberdeenshire, where the venerable Bishop Skinner was Episcopal minister for 64 years, and where he composed those beautiful Scottish songs which are the very embodiment of humor and sweetness.

I have four Tokens from Ceres, in Fifeshire, the dates ranging from 1719 to 1850. In this village the Secession Church held its first communion, in 1745, when upwards of 2,000 communicants partook of the sacrament. The Tokens used on that occasion were of the most primitive description, being small discs of leather with a hole in the centre.

In short, I might mention every Token that I have, for each one brings up some historical or local association. Such remembrancers should never be deemed insignificant nor unimportant.

Another pleasant feature in my collection is, that every specimen is a token of help and interest, and a warm desire to see my work prosper. Every piece speaks of the efforts of some friend in my behalf.

One specially interesting Token is marked "G. M., (General Meeting) 1745." And on the reverse, "L. S." (Lord's Supper.) This comes from the bitterly persecuted little society known as the Cameronians or "Hillfolk," whose members during the "killing time" were hunted for their lives, "as when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains."

The poor struggling remnant kept on protesting and testifying against "right hand snares and extremes, and left hand wayslidings," with few leaders and a very shadow of an organization. At length, in 1743, they formed a Presbytery, but the old name of general meeting was still kept up by the Societies, who had no regular minister. This rudely lettered Token came

to me from Penpont, near the English border. A famous place in the old Covenanting days.

Well aware as I am of the strong Puritanic feeling of our fathers, and knowing how thoroughly they disliked any thing that savoured of the mystical Babylon, I have been much surprised at a device found on some Tokens. They are actually blazoned with a cross. Methlick, in Aberdeenshire, displays a cross on its Token with the date 1776. At first I thought that it might have been adopted as a kind of compromise with the Episcopal neighbors who abounded there, but it was little the Presbyterian Church knew about compromise in those days.

Away at the other extreme end of the country, I find Langton, in Berwickshire, exhibiting a cross with the text, Col. i: 20, "having made peace through the blood of His cross." I am surprised that some "douce David Deans" did not testify

against the Romish tendency of these emblems.

Rousay, in the Orkney Islands, also shows a plain cross, and I have one from Arbroath, Forfarshire, with a Roman cross and the motto, *Salus Cruce* ("Salvation by the cross.") I am certain of one thing, that none of these *cross* Tokens were ever issued by a Seceder Church.

A very suggestive Token is from Methven, Perthshire, 1824. The device is a



dolphin, with the legend: *Tranquillus In Undis Mediis*. ("At rest amid the storms.") I have also a Token from Northma-

vine, Shetland Islands, 1809. It is stamped with a plain fish, showing no marked characteristics, and there is no suggestive motto, as in the case of the Methven Token.

The ecclesiastical antiquary does not need to be told of the important place occu-

pied by the fish in Christian iconography. While the "discipline of the secret" prevailed, the fish was the cherished emblem, and token, and sibylline password by which the brethren identified each other. Three centuries before the lamb, the dove, and even the cross itself were openly used as Christian devices, the little bronze fish was secretly worn as a *Tessera* by the new convert. It was at once a reminder of his vows and a badge of his faith. The fish was so intimately connected with Christ's works, teachings, and apostles, that it was believed to be prophetically significant when the Greek letters of its name *ΙΧΘΥΣ*, (*Ichthys*, *Piscis*), were found to be the initial letters of the Greek words *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ Υἱός Σωτήρ*; ("Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour,") a sentence which sets forth both His divine and human nature, as well as his mediatorial office. This symbol, so generally known and so deeply revered by the primitive

believers, is a most appropriate figure to be revived on the Communion Tokens of the latter day Church.

My oldest Scottish date is 1678, and belongs to St. Andrew's Church, Brechin,



Forfarshire. This being ten years before the Revolution, it stamps the piece as an Episco-Presbyterian Token.

From this period to the Revolution in 1688, five ministers of this church were also bishops of Brechin. From 1678 to 1682, the Rev. George Haliburton, D. D. was incumbent of this charge and bishop of the diocese. During this Episcopal era, worship was conducted according to the Presbyterian order and without a liturgy. This may partly account for the use of the Tokens, though, as I have already stated, the old Episcopal Churches in this district all used them. Several of my undated Tokens must be older than this one. One

from Auchterarder, Perthshire, can be traced back as far as 1584. The Token already mentioned as belonging to Samuel Arnot of Tongland, must have been made in 1661. Many of my specimens are of such rude workmanship that they may belong to the first years of the Reformation. I have quite a number of Tokens of the last century, from 1700 downwards.

XVI.

TOKENS IN THE UNITED STATES.

What has been like a revelation to me in my research was, finding out the extensive use of Tokens in the United States. All the early Presbyterian churches appear to have used them. In the Fourth Presbyterian Church, of New York City,



Tokens were used from 1784 to 1870. Those last in use were marked "Associate Church,"

"N. York, 1799."

Several churches in Pennsylvania and New York still cling to this badge of their fathers. Scattering congregations in Massachusetts, Maine, Vermont, Maryland, and even California, insist on Tokens

from their communicants. There are probably many others of which I have no knowledge. I believe I am a little proud to say that there is at least one church in Wisconsin that has not yet swerved from the old way.*



Over 200 United States Tokens have lately been described and illustrated in the *American Journal of Numismatics*.†

These form the collection of the late Mr. Thomas Warner, of Cohocton, N. Y.‡

* R. P. C., Reformed Presbyterian Church, Vernon, Wis. In 1848, a U. P. Church was organized in Vernon and still flourishes. Its early card-board Tokens were soon replaced by small, squares of lead. I have samples of both kinds. The current of change, or possibly of improvement, has swept them out of sight. The Reformed, or Cameronian Church still distributes its Tokens.

† Vol. XXII, July, 1887, to April, 1888, both inclusive.

‡ Alas ! that I should have to write "the *late* Mr. Warner." Since I took up this subject, I regret to

His genial notes and comments on what he aptly styled "the medallic history of the Presbyterian Church in this country," show that the classifying and deciphering of them had indeed been to him, a labor of love.

Mr. Warner crowned his work by reproducing the magazine articles in a handsome monograph, printed for private distribution only.

Some 35 years ago, a United Presbyterian Church was organized here in Neenah, Wisconsin. For Tokens they used pieces

say that some of my correspondents have passed over to the majority. I especially mourn three friends who took great interest in my work, and constantly encouraged me to persevere. I may be pardoned for mentioning their names and the dates of their death.

Rev. James Aitken Wylie, LL. D., Edinburgh, May 1st, 1890. Rev. Edward Anderson Thomson, D. D., Free St. Stephens, Edinburgh, October 14th, 1890. Mr. Thomas Warner, Cohocton, N. Y., October 17th, 1890.

Vale, vale, amici carissimi.

of tin. The movement was weak and short-lived. Church and Tokens have long since faded from view. Two of my American Tokens are from Vernon, Wisconsin.

I have one piece which carries with it quite a history. It is a round Token of silver, rather less than a half-dollar, the devices on which are engraved. The obverse bears the well known heraldry of the Scottish Church, the burning bush with the famous legend, *Nec Tamen Consumebatur*. ("Nevertheless it was not consumed.") Fitting emblem and motto for a Church which has passed through the furnace. On the reverse is a draped table with a chalice and paten and the text, "This Do In Remembrance Of Me." On the edge is, "Presbyterian Church of Charleston, S. C., 1800."

This was an old and wealthy church with silver communion plate and Tokens. The church was organized in 1731. The

last Tokens were made in England. During the late war, this valuable property was sent to Columbia, S. C., so as to be out of harm's way. An unexpected column of Northern troops swept through the little town and the sacred vessels were looted without ceremony. The plate doubtless found its way to the melting-pot, but the boys probably thought that the Tokens were some kind of Confederate money. Several of them have been preserved and they are now dropping into the cabinets of the curious. The figure stamped on the outer cover of this volume, is the *fac-simile* of this Charleston Token.

I may add that, while white and^v black members sat at the same table and communed from the same vessels, the church provided tin Tokens for the colored membership.

A somewhat similar fate befell the Tokens of Dunning, Scotland, in the

Rebellion of 1715. When the Highlanders of Mar burned the town, the plunder of the church yielded little more than the leaden Tokens. Finding them carefully stored away, and not being very familiar with all varieties of the circulating medium, the wild clansmen at once concluded that the Tokens were money of some kind and carried off the entire stock. With the return of peace, the Session had to provide a new set and adopted a new pattern and date so as to render the old ones useless. I have one of these raided Dunning Tokens, marked "D." "1700."

As I have already intimated, the use of Tokens, to some extent, still prevails in Canada and the Lower Provinces. Mr. Robert W. McLachlan, of Montreal, has just published a list about equal to Mr. Warner's.

Rev. Thomas Burns, of Edinburgh, has in the press a large and exhaustive volume on "Scottish Communion Plate and

Tokens." With these works completed, there will be little left for any petty student like myself to take notice of.

XVII.

CONCLUSION.

And now, let no one lightly imagine that so much patient research is being expended in vain. There is a great pleasure in bringing to light what Mr. Warner termed, "those stray leaden footprints of Church history."

Very many dates and facts as to Churches and pastorates have been determined by those tickets of metal, and exact history is always valuable. No investigation is really misapplied that positively settles where and when the work of the Kingdom has been commenced and advanced.

It is no light matter to touch even "the hem of His garment," if it is done in the spirit of love and trust. Let it not be asked, "to what purpose is this waste?"

Shall not the careful labor rather be “spoken of for a memorial” of those who have made it at once a toil and a delight? Of the reverent collector may it not be said, “he hath wrought a good work, he hath done what he could?”

Not to every one is given the ability and the privilege to “walk about Zion, and go round about her, tell the towers thereof, mark well her bulwarks, and consider her palaces.” But even the humble observer may be able to “tell to the generation following” some of those partly forgotten ornaments which helped, at one time, to make her “beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth.”

May we not, like the Jew reviewing his ancient heritage, “take pleasure in the stones, and favour the dust” of our Presbyterian Zion.

FINIS CORONAT OPUS.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 25, line 11 from below, for my, read—My.

Page 56, line 12, add note : I find the same trouble springing from the words “in due order,” existing in the early New England churches. One of the most prolific sources of jealousy, quarrel and heart-burning arose from the “seating and dignifying” the congregation *in due order*.

The allotment of pews was left in the hands of a committee, who never succeeded in satisfying their Puritan brethren that the honorable places in the Meeting-House had been apportioned to those who were really entitled to occupy them. See Alice Morse Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*; New York, 1891 (pp. 45-65).

Page 64, line 8, read—he received.

Page 90, line 1 from below, read—asceticism.

Page 110, line 2 from below, for his read—His.

Page 122, line 11, read—years’.

Page 126, n., read—*Scots*.

Page 141, n., after Token add : This Token is taken from the Original Secession Church of Dollar.

Page 149, add : As these sheets leave my hands I have received a detailed and illustrated catalogue of 660 Tokens of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. These form the collection of the Rev. Robert Dick, of Colinsburgh, Fifeshire.

Page 156, add : In Mrs. Earle's book, referred to above, I find mention of the Token in New England as "a very extraordinary custom," restricted in Massachusetts to the little town of Pelham. The authoress places the power of giving or refusing the "communion-check" in the hands of the deacon, and tells how the custom overflowed to Londonderry, N. H. She gives a graphic description of the celebration of the communion, the details of which are much the same as they are stated in these pages.

The Token, however, was not confined in Massachusetts, to Pelham. I know of Tokens in Chelsea, Sutton, Chicopee, and one church in Boston still uses them, or did so very lately.

The Token is found, not only all over New England, but wherever the Presbyterian Church was planted in the United States, and its presence still lingers in many places.

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